Paul A. Pickering

Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford

There have been many local studies of Chartism, but there is no major study of the movement in the Manchester-Salford conurbation, its most important provincial centre. This book brings an innovative approach to an exploration of aspects of the Chartist experience in the 'shock city' of the industrial revolution.

The first section reconstructs the social world of the labouring poor, who filled the ranks of the movement, and examines the sociological and organisational structure of the local movement. The second section examines the relationship between Chartism and the contemporary reform movements with which it was enmeshed: trade unions; municipal government; Corn Law repeal; the Irish movement; Owenism and radical Christianity; and working class self-help.The third section gives a voice to the Chartists through the study of biography and collective protest and provides an overview of events after the collapse of the mass movement in the 1840s.

For a note on the author, please see the back flap

CHARTISM AND THE CHARTISTS IN MANCHESTER AND SALFORD

Also by Paul A. Pickering

WORK AND SOCIETY: The Impact of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions on Britain (*editor with Alex Tyrell*)

Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford

Paul A. Pickering







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P.A.P.

List of Abbreviations

ACLL	Anti-Corn Law League
HMC	Hunt Monument Committee
MPU	Manchester Political Union
NCA	National Charter Association
NCSU	National Complete Suffrage Union
OACLA	Operative Anti-Corn Law Association
PFRA	Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association
RA	Radical Association
WMA	Working Men's Association

Introduction

> Lancashire, and especially Manchester, is the seat of the most powerful Unions, the central point of Chartism, the place which numbers the most Socialists.
>
> Frederick Engels[1]

Some twenty years ago a commentator on Chartist historiography, Thomas Kemnitz, registered his concern that local studies of Chartism had come to 'totally dominate our thinking' about the movement.[2] At the time, Kemnitz's point was a salient one. The publication of Asa Briggs' *Chartist Studies*[3] in 1959 inspired a proliferation of inquiries devoted to the idiosyncrasies of Chartism in different localities. This trend has continued largely unchecked so that completed local studies now number well in excess of fifty. Kemnitz went on to emphasise that historians of Chartism should shift their focus from the local level to the movement's 'centre' where they could examine the national strategy, reappraise the careers of the national leaders and arrive at overall assessments. His implication was clearly that the rummaging in County record offices and the scouring of local sources must end, because sufficient work on the 'localities' had been completed. Another commentator has been more blunt: 'it is difficult to believe that yet more local studies will add significantly to our understanding of the movement'.[4]

For important reasons, however, I believe that it is not time to declare the genre defunct. First, there is no major examination of the Chartist movement in Manchester and Salford, the 'shock city'[5] of the Industrial Revolution. Two short essays devoted to the subject by Donald Read and Edmund and Ruth Frow[6] do not do justice to the history of what many commentators agreed was the most important provincial centre of working-class politics in the first half of the nineteenth century. Manchester had sent the Blanketeers on their ill-fated march to London in 1817, and it had been the venue of the Peterloo Massacre in 1819. In 1833 the editor of the legendary *Poor Man's Guardian*, James Bronterre O'Brien, wrote of Manchester that 'there is not another town in the kingdom...in which genuine radicalism more abounds, nor in which the *Poor Man's Guardian* has found so many able and warm hearted supporters';[7] nearly a decade later, in 1841, when a leading socialist, William Galpin, challenged O'Brien to a debate he (Galpin) chose Manchester as

the venue: 'The reason for selecting Manchester as the arena for the discussion is that it contains a population more distinguished for activity in popular movements than any other in the Empire'.[8] The Manchester Chartists agreed; William Rushton, 'a working man', stated 'if there was any place in the United Kingdom which ought to have a representation more than any other, that place was Manchester...in the district of Manchester...it was well known that there was the greatest suffering; and the greatest degree of oppression and injustice inflicted upon the most industrious and most virtuous part of the population of Great Britain'.[9] Three years later, in 1842, Rushton's was one of nearly 120 000 signatures on the Manchester and Salford contribution to the Chartist National Petition which was second only to 'London and suburbs' in the national tally.[10] In these terms the need to study Chartism in Manchester and Salford is self-evident.

Secondly, it is not time to abandon the micro-study as a model while its potential has not been fully realised in the study of Chartism. Many of the existing local studies of Chartism have fallen short of the expectations of social history, rarely venturing beyond the limits of a narrowly defined political narrative.[11] This is true of Donald Read's essay. His short narrative is accurate, even helpful, but it leaves so much of the local Chartist experience unexplored that it becomes distorting. The impact of social historians on Chartist historiography has been mainly in general accounts. Beginning with David Jones' *Chartism and the Chartists* in 1975 and followed by Edward Royle and Dorothy Thompson,[12] social historians have rescued Chartism from being consigned to textbooks as a narrowly-defined political movement devoted to basic tenets of democratic parliamentary reform. These historians have sketched the outlines of a movement that captured the imagination of a generation of British working people who were fired with enthusiasm for changing their world. The aim of this book then is twofold: to address an obvious gap in the existing historiography of Chartism but in a way which develops a social and anthropological approach not previously employed in a local study of Chartism. As such, it will follow the sign-posts established by Jones, Royle and Dorothy Thompson to provide an exploration of aspects of the Chartist experience in Manchester and Salford. In chronological terms, the main focus of the book is on the years up to the end of 1842, the period often referred to by historians as early Chartism. During these years Chartism in Manchester and Salford was a mass movement to an extent that it never re-attained. Nevertheless, material from later periods has been included where relevant as has an overview of events up to the funeral of Ernest Jones in 1869 (Chapter 10).

The book is divided into three parts. The first part is concerned with structures. Chapter 1 seeks to recreate the social world of the labouring poor who filled the ranks of the local movement. The chapter offers a Chartist perspective on life beneath the 'inky canopy' of the 'shock city' of the Industrial Revolution, an experience that was often summed up in the metaphor of Hell. The poverty and destitution which characterised the social environment of working-class Manchester and Salford added to the abrasiveness of local political exchanges and sharpened the class-consciousness of those who referred to themselves as the 'fustian jackets'.[13] This chapter also identifies the principal institutions in the social geography of Manchester Chartism, for despite the hellishness of the 'old immoral world', working people created a society and a radical culture there. As a consequence Chartism was far more than a political movement; it was a way of life, the product of decades of shared experiences.

Building on this geography of radicalism, Chapter 2 explores the sociological and organisational structure of the Chartist movement in Manchester and Salford. It argues that the Chartist community revolved around sets of interpersonal relationships: among kin, friends, workmates and the members of geographically defined local associations. In these terms it will suggest that the Chartist experience was primarily a local one, occurring within what a leading northern Chartist, Peter McDouall, called the 'wall of brotherhood'. This sociological structure was reflected in the nature of the local organisation which was little more than a loose federation of discrete associations.

The book does not devote a separate chapter to women, but by pointing to the importance of the radical family, Chapter 2 also affords an opportunity to consider their role in the local movement. Dorothy Thompson has pointed out that women have been largely ignored in local studies of Chartism, but there are difficulties (which Thompson notes) in restoring women to their proper place.[14] These have little to do with the fact the movement was concerned with the rights of men; more importantly, the 'sisters in bondage' in Manchester and Salford were virtually silent as individuals. Collectively, however, they spoke volumes through their actions. Women played a considerable role in the local movement – in education, as radical consumers and as part of a radical family – but this experience was not separate from the rest of the movement and has therefore not been artificially separated.

The second part of the book (Chapters 3–7) is devoted to an examination of the mosaic of reforms of which Chartism was a part. In March 1839 'A Radical' complained to the *Manchester Times* that the local Chartists were 'mono-maniacs who run-a-muck at everything but the

Charter'.[15] In the hurly-burly of political life this correspondent may have been justly aggrieved: at times the enthusiasm of some local Chartists took them into the public meetings of others particularly if it afforded them prospect of exposing what they considered to be the hypocrisy of piece-meal reformers. The published 'Aims and Objectives' of the NCA advertised that Chartists would 'attend all public political meetings, and there, by moving amendments or by other means, enforce a discussion of our rights and claims'.[16] The reference to 'other means' provided a licence which saw some sensibilities trampled and some noses bloodied. Nevertheless, the description of the Manchester and Salford Chartists as 'mono-maniacs' could not be more misleading. Most Chartists were pre-disposed to other causes; they sought their rights, not in the abstract, but as the means to great ends. As a prominent local Chartist, Christopher Doyle, argued, the People's Charter was: 'the only panacea for the removal of the many evils of the nation'.[17] Consequently, many Chartists were simultaneously or in quick succession involved in numerous other agitations giving rise to a high degree of overlapping membership and organisational inter-relationships in a congeries of social and political reform movements.

The extent to which Chartism was entangled in a broader landscape of reform can be exemplified by a glance at the membership of an ephemeral local group, the Mental Liberty Committee, formed in November 1839 in response to a spate of prosecutions against radical publishers. In separate newspaper accounts, one reporter provided a list of the names of the members of the Committee and another a list of their affiliations. These are revealing. One of the Chartists, Joseph Linney, was also an active trade unionist, an opponent of the New Poor Law, and temperance advocate; another, Abel Heywood, was also a devoted Owenite, a local government office-holder, an educationalist and a temperance advocate; while a third, David Ross, who was listed as a 'Catholic', was an official of the OACLA, the Irish Roman Catholic Temperance Association, and later became a prominent Chartist lecturer.[18] What was true of these individuals of some local prominence was also evident among the anonymous Chartist crowd: young Joshua Lyons, for example, who comes to notice only by the accident of his unfortunate death during the Plug Plot strike in August 1842, was a card-carrying member of the power-loom weavers trade union, the Manchester Teetotal Society and the London Road Chartist branch at the time of his death.[19]

Chartism then forms the common denominator of the second part of the book, but beyond this the five chapters offer a far-ranging excursion from trade union lodges to local government debates; from Operative Anti-Corn Law dinners to the 'hotbed' of Daniel O'Connell's Irish 'Precursors'; from

temperance coffee-houses and mutual improvement classes to Odd Fellows gatherings; from radical preaching houses and co-operative stores to the Owenite Hall of Science and a Christian Chartist land experiment on the treacherous marshes of nearby Chat Moss.

The final part of the book is concerned with providing a voice for the 'fustian jackets' through the study of biography and collective protest. In conjunction with a detailed biographical appendix, Chapter 8 compares and contrasts the experiences of thirty local Chartist activists. Selected from several hundred candidates, these represent the thirty about which most has been learned. Three important shared experiences are highlighted: poverty, prison and the growth of the 'trade of agitation' – a term used disparagingly for the development of politics as a paid vocation at a time when the leisured gentleman provided the model for public life. This chapter represents a sustained biographical analysis of a locality to an extent which, as far as I am aware, has not been accomplished in any other study of Chartism. In methodological terms it is important to stress that these profiles (and the couple of dozen others which appear in the notes) were not hanging like plums ripe to be plucked; rather they have been painstakingly compiled from a plethora of fragmentary references. Despite the information gaps which remain, the application of this technique over the course of this book suggests that the study of Chartist biography can be taken down to a level close to the rank-and-file. It is offered as a model.

The biographical approach followed in Chapter 8 focuses on the more prominent individuals in the local movement – men who left sufficient fragments to allow aspects of their careers to be rescued. Chapter 9 seeks to go one stage further by developing a methodology which gives a voice to the rank-and-file of the Chartist movement. In part the chapter is concerned with following E. P. Thompson's advice and getting inside episodes; as he has put it: 'History is made up of episodes, and if we cannot get inside them we cannot get inside history at all.'[20] First, the chapter offers a systematic analysis of the inscriptions and pictorial representations on the banners and flags carried by the rank-and-file Chartists in six major episodes in Manchester and Salford between 1838 and 1842. Again, as far as I am aware, this is a strategy not previously employed by a historian of Chartism. Second, Chapter 9 explores the language of face-to-face interaction in public and what may be called the 'presentation of self'[21] by leaders who were responding to the expectations of the led. By drawing attention to the suit of working-class fustian adopted as a symbol by the most popular national leader of the movement, Feargus O'Connor, this chapter offers a contribution to the on-going debate among historians about the place of class in the ideology of the movement. The conclusions

reached have broader implications, but the suit of fustian originated in Manchester among those who referred to themselves as the 'fustian jackets'. An understanding of its significance is thus especially relevant in the heart of the industrial north. Of course the issue of class has resonances in the present. It is no accident that the rush to question the value of class as a tool for historical analysis has quickened since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism in eastern Europe. Even before the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, at least one commentator was suggesting that the triumph of liberal capitalist ideology represented the end of history.[22] In these circumstances the need to study the Chartists' struggle for democratic control of their own lives in the face of the onset of capitalism seems all the more urgent. As E. P. Thompson wrote in an inspiring passage:[23]

> Only we, who are now living, can give a 'meaning' to the past. But the past has always been, among other things, the result of an argument about values. In recovering that process, in showing how causation actually eventuated, we must, insofar as the discipline can enforce, hold our own values in abeyance. But once this history has been recovered, we are at liberty to offer our judgement upon it....Our vote will change nothing. And yet, in another sense, it may change everything. For we are saying that these values, and not those other values, are the ones which make this history meaningful *to us*, and that these are the values which we intend to enlarge and sustain in our own present.

My vote is for the Chartists.

Part I:
Chartist Manchester and Salford



1 'The Old Immoral World': Working-Class Manchester and Salford

> When I cast my eyes around society...I beheld one man living in a splendid palace, stately hall, or elegant mansion amidst all the beauties and sublimities of nature; and another man pining in some dark hut, unhealthy garret, or nauseous cellar, amidst all the filth, disorder and nauseous exhalation of a densely populated district.
>
> Robert Cooper[1]

When a Brazilian sociologist, Valdo Pons, surveyed the list he had compiled of observers who recorded their impressions of early Victorian Manchester, he saw them as ranging between two polar extremes – bourgeois eulogists and advocates of 'suffering man' – with Thomas Carlyle performing the typically promethean role of upholding both extremes in his famous references to a 'Sooty Manchester' which was 'every whit as wonderful, as fearful, unimaginable, as the oldest Salem or Prophetic City'.[2] Within Manchester itself contemporary responses to the environment were also polarised in a way which was so strongly influenced by the city's abrasive class values that the working-class *Union Pilot* could dismiss James Kay's *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* as little more than a shallow attempt to obtain a 'passport to the favour and patronage of master manufacturers'.[3] The criticism had some force: individual responses to the Manchester environment were shaped by the expectations and preconceptions of the observer, and in Kay's case these were easily detected. Despite the vast differences in interpretation, across the spectrum of contemporary literature there was a remarkable consistency at the level of observation: the basic facts of the environment and society of Manchester were not in dispute. This consistency produced some strange alliances, such as when James Harris, editor of the *English Chartist Circular*, referred to a work by William Cooke-Taylor, an ideologue of the middle-class ACLL, as a 'painfully true description of the condition to which the Have-nots have been reduced by the Haves'.[4] Even those

working men who condemned James Kay did not disagree with the substance of his description – his was a sin of interpretation.[5]

It is only by taking into account this underlying agreement, as well as the different interpretations of contemporary works of observation, that the historian can address the task which Pons has placed on the agenda: 'a deeper sociological analysis' of Manchester based on the 'excellent materials' left by contemporaries.[6] To this end, the chapter which follows will reconstruct the townscape on which the social world of the labouring poor – those who filled the ranks of the Chartist movement – took shape. The fact that this makes use of impressionistic materials, including those supplied by working men, need be no handicap. After all, as the Irish Manchester Chartist, David Ross, remarked, the conditions of the Manchester working class had not only to be seen to be believed; they had to be 'felt to be appreciated'.[7] Thus the impassioned observer has his place, as well as the social investigators and others who regarded themselves as more scientific, discerning and socially superior.

Our point of entry into the townscape is to join a group of Manchester Chartists as they marched the streets of their city in protest. Early in the morning of Whit Saturday, 25 May 1839, Chartists from all over Manchester and Salford made their way to New Cross at the intersection of two of Manchester's major thoroughfares, Oldham Road and Great Ancoats Street, in Ancoats. From this grand rendezvous they marched in procession down Swan Street and Shudehill and so by Fennell Street and Hunt's Bank and then along Great Ducie Street for about three miles in a north-westerly direction until they reached their destination, Kersal Moor.[8] Lingering over the route of this procession more closely, the historian can reconstruct, through contemporary eyes, a visual experience of Manchester on that morning in May. All around the marchers was a townscape almost exactly as it would soon be described by Frederick Engels; for their procession took them through the series of concentric circles into which he divided his map of Manchester. Starting off from the centre, the business and governmental hub of the city, they followed a route that took them through the solid working-class residential districts and then through the suburbs where the middle and upper classes lived before they finally reached the countryside.[9] They had marched through what Robert Cooper called 'the old immoral world'.

From New Cross to Hunt's Bank the Chartists marched along principal streets lined by extensive shops, warehouses and office buildings. Here and there they passed a familiar site – a friendly pub like the Mitre Inn, on Hunt's Bank, where the Council of the MPU met regularly during early 1839, or John Doherty's radical bookshop-cum-newsagency at the lower

end of Shudehill[10] – but for the most part they passed establishments which neither sought nor received the custom of working men, for this was the district where the middle class was served by its 'emporiums of commerce'. Typical of these was B. Hyam & Co., drapers, in Market Street. This shop was 'fitted up in a style of magnificence', the splendid interior with its six crystal chandeliers being visible to the onlooker through a plate-glass façade extending over fifty feet.[11] For the most part this was a largely non-residential area. Estimated by Engels to be a mile-and a-half-in diameter, it consisted almost entirely of offices and warehouses,[12] but by general agreement its heart was the Exchange which had been completed in 1809. Despite the relative smallness and innocuous appearance of the building,[13] the economic, social and political power concentrated in the hands of the manufacturing elite who patronised the 'Parliament of the Cotton Lords' ensured that it occupied a prominent place in the townscape.[14]

All around and physically overwhelming the Exchange were office blocks, factories and warehouses. Most warehouses were enormous drab buildings without 'any pretensions to architectural effect'; Robert Southey, in the guise of a visitor from Catholic Spain, had compared them with convents but 'without their antiquity, without their beauty, without their holiness'.[15] These buildings lined wide, well-lit, paved streets, which had seen much improvement during the first decades of the nineteenth century.[16] The scene of a constant flurry of activity during business hours, these streets, like the buildings that lined them, were practically deserted at night.[17]

Turning away from the commercial core of Manchester and proceeding along Hunt's Bank, the marchers approached the Collegiate Church. A 'truly venerable pile' built in the fifteenth century in a 'rich ornamental stile [*sic*] of architecture' that 'never fails to attract the attention and command the admiration of the man of taste',[18] it was one of Manchester's few direct links with the past and it ministered to the spiritual needs of the local Anglican elite. The only occasion on which the Chartists collectively crossed its threshold was not to pray but to protest.[19] A little further along the route of the march the Chartists came upon the Manchester Workhouse and the adjacent paupers' burial-ground. Situated on a rise in Strangeways and surrounded by large gardens and high walls with parapets, the Workhouse had been built in 1792 and was described by contemporary observers (those with no prospect of entering it on anything more than a visit) as a large, spacious, even elegant building. More in keeping with the perspective of our Chartist marchers was Engels' description of this 'poor law Bastille' as a threatening citadel which loomed over the surrounding working-class districts as an ever-present reminder of the ultimate degradation of poverty.[20] The gloomy prospect was

intensified by the paupers' burial ground where untold thousands of graves were located. Among the marchers there were many like Elijah Dixon, an old radical, for whom this had special significance as the resting-place of family and friends. Possibly nothing revealed the ambivalent feelings of the working class about their harsh environment more than their conviction that this squalid area was their 'inheritance' to protect: in May 1839 they had rallied in vehement opposition to railway directors of a 'mammon loving disposition' whose proposed extension of the Leeds–Manchester railway cut a swathe through the ground and necessitated the disinterment of some five to six thousand bodies.[21]

In this section of the march, the Chartists were at the confluence of Manchester's two major rivers – the Irwell and the Irk. The very name of the latter unwittingly told the grim truth of their polluted condition. The Irk, Kay wrote, was[22]

> black with the refuse of Dye-works erected on its banks, receives excrementitious matters from some sewers in this portion of the town – drainage from the gas-works, and filth of the most pernicious character from bone-works, tanneries, size manufacturers, &c...

Likewise, the 'hapless Irwell' was a 'pretty enough stream a few miles up' recalled Hugh Miller, a Scottish visitor to Manchester in 1844, but as it meandered along, forming the boundary between Manchester and Salford,[23]

> myriads of dirty things [are] given it to wash, and whole wagon-loads of poisons from dye-houses and bleach-yards thrown into it to carry away; steam-boilers discharge into it their seething contents, and drains and sewers their fetid impurities; till at length it rolls on...considerably less a river than a flow of liquid manure...

Having crossed the Irk, the procession moved along Great Ducie Street. As with other arterial routes out of central Manchester, the thoroughfare was lined with well-kept business establishments, but this was a façade. Behind this streetscape were the working-class residential zones arrayed in a band, averaging a mile-and-a-half in breadth, around the commercial core. Engels saw this as a tangible demonstration of social alienation; the working class had been removed from sight. The Manchester working class, Cooke-Taylor agreed in 1844,[24]

> live, hidden from the view of the higher ranks by piles of stores, mills, warehouses, and manufacturing establishments, less known to their wealthy neighbours...than the inhabitants of New Zealand or Kamtschatka.

What Cooke-Taylor referred to as the 'geographical limits of non-intercourse,' Engels considered a 'systematic...shutting out of the working class' behind the commercial façade of the thoroughfares – an attempt to 'conceal from the eyes of the wealthy men and women...the misery and grime which forms the complement of their wealth'.[25] The Chartist procession did not leave the main thoroughfare, but doubtless as they tramped along, some of the marchers would have reflected on the grim streets in which they lived only a few paces beyond the façade.

The condition of many of these streets was striking. In 1842 a Manchester doctor, Richard Howard, reported that in several districts[26]

> Whole streets...are unpaved and without drains or main-sewers, are worn into deep ruts and holes, in which water constantly stagnates, and are so covered with refuse and excrementitious matter as to be almost impassable from depth of mud, and intolerable from stench.

A decade earlier Kay had noted that of 438 streets principally occupied by the poor, '214 were altogether unpaved – 32 partially paved – 63 ill ventilated – and 259 contained heaps of refuse, deep ruts, stagnant pools, ordure &c.'.[27] In December 1838, one of our Chartist marchers, Edward Nightingale, had complained that 'the street in which he lived', Lomas Street, was unpaved, 'had no sewer or no other means of getting rid of the water and was consequently in a dreadful state'.[28] Such was the reputation of Manchester streets that an anecdote, popularised in 1838, concerned two mechanics who, returning to the town in the dead of night, were uncertain that they had arrived until one sank ankle deep in mud and remarked to his companion, 'it's all reet, Jack; this is th' Manchester!'[29]

The urban poor lived amid the mud and stench of these wretched streets. The area adjacent to the river Irk was one of the older portions of Manchester. As early as 1795, John Aiken had described this district as packed with 'offensive, dark, damp, and incommodious habitations, a too fertile source of disease'. Nearly fifty years later when Engels was walking these streets, nothing had changed for the better; he saw a 'planless, knotted chaos, more or less on the verge of uninhabitableness'. Here privies were almost unheard of – those which did exist were daily filled to overflowing – and the absence of pumps and water pipes left the filthy waters of the Irk as the only source of water for personal use.[30] In other portions of working-class Manchester the story was remarkably similar: the newer areas, testified one witness before Edwin Chadwick's Parliamentary Commission into the condition of the labouring population, were characterised by cottages built 'back to back, without ventilation or drainage; and, like a honeycomb, every particle of space is occupied'.[31]

The absence of a Building Act, official standard or any system of inspection left the construction of these dwellings open to 'avaricious speculators' and not surprisingly the results left a lot to be desired. The walls, this witness complained, were 'only half brick thick' and one pump and one privy were all that were usually provided for the occupants of every twenty houses.[32] Working people often referred to these conditions with bitterness. In 1840, for example, the Manchester *Trades Journal* deplored the numerous houses built so close that 'the inmates of the opposite house may shake hands without stepping out of their own door'. In the absence of drainage or sewerage working people had no alternative other than to add to 'the already defiled street'.[33]

At a time when the statistical inquiry came of age as a tool of social investigation, there were many attempts to quantify the consequences of poverty. Benjamin Love, the author of two guidebooks, estimated that eight out of ten homes were the scene of 'misery, filth, and destitution'.[34] In 1834 the Manchester Statistical Society investigated the condition of 37 724 residences (29 037 houses, 4270 single rooms, and 4417 cellars). Of these totals they declared that 27 281 were 'comfortable' as opposed to 10 443 which were 'uncomfortable'.[35] Appearing before Chadwick's Commission, however, a representative from the Society confessed that 'comfortable' was a 'vague and varying epithet' without any precise definition,[36] and contemporary standards were not high. There was general agreement that the 10 443 houses were 'miserable abodes' for their 60 000 inhabitants.

There were abundant examples of each type of accommodation in the area where we left our marchers. According to Alexis de Tocqueville, who visited Manchester in 1835, the 'ill-fitting planks and broken windows' of the above-ground houses of the poor showed them, at a distance, to be the 'last refuge a man might find between poverty and death'.[37] In 1842, Joseph Adshead, a self-appointed investigator into the extent of distress in Manchester, confirmed this impression when he described the absence of 'the meanest comforts of life' in these dwellings:[38]

> Decent furniture there is none – bricks, logs of wood, and other contrivances being frequently used as substitutes for tables and chairs, while a bag of shavings or litter of straw is lain in some corner, to be occupied nightly by its miserable tenants....

Yet de Tocqueville went on to make the point that other Mancunians would find such accommodation the object of envy.[39] Among the envious were, firstly, the occupants of single rooms that were 'abodes of squalor and poverty' in which 'different families occupy *opposite corners of the*

same room'[40] and, secondly, those who resided in lodging houses. Attempting to describe the latter, Love invited his readers to imagine a room containing anything from six to fourteen beds,[41]

> ranged side by side, and closely adjoining one another; that in each of these beds he discovers from two to four persons, of either sex, and of all ages and characters....Let him imagine that the temperature of this room is at fever heat...let him imagine himself assailed by a disgusting, faint, and sickening effluvia....Let him remember that the bed-linen is rarely changed – once in six months – and that in these beds, meanwhile, have been located an ever changeful race of diseased and sick, as well as convalescent persons; and let him imagine these beds to be likewise visibly infested with all manner of vermin, and he will form a conception, far short however, of the reality of the horrible spectacle presented, not by one, but by many hundred lodging-houses in Manchester.

One did not need a medical background to agree with Dr Howard's description of these lodging house as 'most malignant foci of infectious fevers',[42] but contemporaries were agreed that the full horror of working-class housing had not been seen until one descended into the notorious cellars. The use of cellars did not reflect a housing shortage; in 1841 Love claimed that there were 5761 uninhabited houses. What was happening was that at a time of increasing economic hardship, the former tenants of superior abodes were often forced underground.[43] In typically forceful language Feargus O'Connor summed up the situation when he visited Manchester in September 1841:[44]

> When we look round, and see the untenanted houses, the cottages nailed up and the cellars teeming with the unhealthy forms of half-buried ghosts, who are suffering living death by thousands....

O'Connor was not exaggerating when he referred to thousands of cellar-dwellers. In the 4417 cellars examined by the Statistical Society in 1834 lived an estimated 18 000 people and by the 1840s it was calculated that there were roughly 20 000 individuals living underground.[45] Among our Chartist marchers there would have been many, like William Butterworth, whose family had been reduced to the necessity of residing in one of these cellars in the New Cross district. If it was typical, Butterworth's cellar would have been 10 to 15 feet square, and it might have been home to as many as fifteen inhabitants.[46] Many investigators found that the possessions of some cellar-dwellers could be tallied up in a few meagre lines of notation. The cellar occupied by a painter in Brook Street was typical:

> In this cellar there is not so much as a seat, bricks being used for that purpose; no bed; a few shavings, scarcely sufficient for a child to lie upon, is all that a family of four have....

In the same district, 'nothing whatever' was found in a cellar occupied by a family of five.[47] Worse still was the absence of drainage and ventilation in circumstances where the constant damp and propensity to flooding contributed to scenes of overwhelming 'wretchedness and unwholesomeness'. This 'appalling misery and destitution', George Buckland conceded in his 1837 *Report to the Ministry of the Poor*, 'no pen can well describe'.[48]

In the heartland of working-class Manchester, lining the banks of the rivers and canals, with the dwellings of the poor clustered tightly around them, were Manchester's colossal factories. In 1832 there were 96 cotton-mills, 16 silk-mills, four worsted and woollen-mills and two flax-mills. Of these, the average employed 400 hands with the two largest employing more than a thousand people.[49] The number was rising sharply at that time. By 1838, in the estimation of the *Parliamentary Gazetteer*, there were 211 cotton-mills (29 not working) employing over 39 000 people;[50] 20 silk-mills employing 4245 hands, and two woollen and two worsted-mills employing 258 hands.[51] In his guidebooks, Love advised the visitor to[52]

> take a walk among the Mills of Manchester; and although his notions of smoke and darkened waters, may not be the most agreeable, still, these will soon vanish, and feelings of wonder take their place. Many of these mills are immense buildings, raised to the height of six, seven, and eight stories....

Andrew Ure, a prominent advocate of the factory system, went further, describing factories as 'magnificent edifices...surpassing far in number, value and usefulness and ingenuity of construction, the boasted monuments of Asiatic, Egyptian and Roman despotism'.[53]

The factory was a feature of the everyday existence of the urban poor, one that inspired harsh descriptions and unfavourable metaphors. For one of our marchers, James Leach, a leading Manchester Chartist, 'the bitterest curse' was the 'hissing, whizzing, jumping, thumping, rattling, steaming and stinking factory'.[54] In Leach's description there were no comparisons with palaces and references to monumental magnificence. Unlike the upper-class observers who compared factories to palaces in an attempt to accommodate a new and strange phenomenon within a familiar conceptual framework, working people summarised the structural size and the experience of factories in the euphemism 'cotton bastilles' – part of the standard radical vocabulary at the time.[55] Another Manchester working man, John

Rogerson, one of a coterie of poets who met regularly at Poet's Corner in Manchester's Sun Inn during the 1830s and 1840s, depicted life in the factory as the harshest form of slavery:[56]

> Clamorous confusion stuns the deafen'd ear,
> The man-made monsters urge their ceaseless round,
> Startling strange eyes with wild amaze and fear;
> And here amidst the tumult and dim,
> His daily toil pursues the pallid slave,
> Taxing his youthful strength and will to win
> For food and labour and an early grave:
> To many a haggard wretch the clanging bell,
> That call'd him forth at morn, hath been a knell.

Like Leach's remark, Rogerson's vivid evocation of the factory is couched primarily in aural terms: the 'tumult and din' and 'clamorous confusion' of the 'man-made monsters' which steadily deafen the 'pallid slave' to the 'clanging bell' which summons him to his daily toil. Compare these expressions of actual experience with the view popularised in 1835 by a strident advocate of the factory system, Edward Baines: the 'noise and whirl of machinery, which are unpleasant and confusing to a spectator unaccustomed to the scene, produce not the slightest effect on the operatives habituated to it'. No wonder the Chartists regarded Baines as the 'Great Liar' of the North.[57]

But with the exception of the towering chimneys, working-class Manchester was largely hidden from the view of the Chartist marchers on that May day, and they quickly passed through into the third of Engels' concentric circles: middle-class suburban Manchester. The contrast was stark. As they proceeded from Strangeways along Great Ducie Street, the suburbs of Broughton to the east and Cheetham Hill to the west opened before them. In the lower-lying portions of these areas Engels found the 'middle bourgeoisie' living in 'regularly laid out streets'. Moving further from central Manchester to the 'breezy heights' of Cheetham Hill and Broughton, the 'upper bourgeoisie' lived in villas and comfortable homes with gardens, in wholesome country air protected by prevailing winds from the smoke of the factories.[58] This class-based residential topography was a recent development. Louis Hayes, whose family moved from Chorlton-upon-Medlock to Broughton in 1845, recalled that 'the middle class began to realise that town life was not very desirable' and from the first years of the nineteenth century, the middle class abandoned central Manchester to the labouring poor, opting for 'conditions more suburban'.[59] The immediate and long-term advantages of outer suburban settlement were noted in an 1804 guide book: the hills of

the surrounding countryside offered a 'commanding prospect' and should the villa be built facing away from urban Manchester,[60]

> the nature of the situation can never be interrupted by buildings; and the inhabitants of the charming elevation, will always be sure of rich country scenery, in view of their front windows, however crouded [*sic*] and confused the back part of their buildings may become.

Throughout the first decades of the nineteenth century many other commentators testified to the 'picturesque beauty' of the immediate neighbourhood of urban Manchester. 'There are so many pleasant footpaths' through 'cornfields', 'meadows' and 'parks', asserted Archibald Prentice, editor of the Radical-Whig *Manchester Times* and vociferous local commentator, 'that a pedestrian might walk completely round the town in a circle, which seldom exceeded a radius of two miles from the Exchange'.[61]

What most commentators failed to recognise was that the proximity of the countryside was seen as a benefit by working men as well as mill-owners. As John Prince, another of the Sun Inn poets, wrote in his 'Rambles of Rhymester' in 1842:[62]

> What a relief it was to me, after vegetating for twelve months amid the gloom, the filth, the squalid poverty, and the dissipation of Manchester, to find myself surrounded by green fields, luxuriant hedgerows, and trees just opening to the breath of Spring! What quiet rapture to hear the lark carolling in a *pure* sky – to listen to the prattle of *pure* waters – to exchange the stench of manufactories and dirty alleys, for the delicious odour of dairies and the breath of uncontaminated flowers! – what natural joy....

Many other working men simply availed themselves of 'an hour or two of luxurious indolence' in the countryside on a Sunday before returning to the region of 'smoke and dust'. Public meetings in the surrounding countryside were a regular part of the Chartist experience: for example, the Manchester and Salford Chartist Youth Associations held weekly 'camp meetings' on Shaw's Brow on the outskirts of Salford, and it was Kersal Moor, a rural setting on the edge of the city, that our Chartist marchers had selected as their destination.[63]

Having arrived at the Moor doubtless some of our marchers turned to look back at the city skyline. A contrast between an idyllic rural foreground and the bleak background of industrial Manchester met their view. The skyline was dominated by a 'forest of factory chimneys, vomiting vast volumes of smoke' to create an 'inky canopy' (the words are Cooke-Taylor's) which 'seemed to embrace and involve the entire place'.[64] The view was harsher because of the familiar objects of nature in the foreground.[65] Robert Cooper

could have sought no better vantage-point than Kersal Moor to illustrate his condemnation of early nineteenth-century Manchester as an 'old immoral world' in which the beauties of nature clashed with scenes of squalor and disease.

There were aspects of Manchester, however, which were merely hinted at by looking back from Kersal Moor. Within view, for example, in a circle of about five miles from the Exchange, a population of 354 142 lived.[66] This 'vast assemblage of people' seemed the more extraordinary because of the rapidity with which it had grown. In 1717, about the time that Daniel Defoe described Manchester as the 'greatest mere village in England', the population was approximately 8000; by 1788, according to John Aiken, it had grown steadily to 44 821 (about 50 000 including Salford).[67] From the 1780s onwards the population increased even more rapidly: as Love noted in 1839, within the previous sixty years it had increased seven-fold.[68] Following the first census in 1801, we can view this growth rate in a more systematic way (see Tables 1.1 and 1.2). The

Table 1.1 Census Figures for Manchester and Salford, 1801–31*

	Manchester	*Salford*	*Total*
1801	75 275	14 447	89 722
1811	89 054	19 939	108 993
1821	126 031	26 552	152 583
1831	181 768	42 375	224 143

*Manchester figures include Ardwick, Cheetham, Chorlton and Hulme; Salford figures include Broughton.
Source: W. E. A. Axon, *The Annals of Manchester* (Manchester, 1886), pp. 129, 143, 165 and 184.

Table 1.2 General Summary of Population, 1841

Chorlton-Upon-Medlock Union	93 523
Manchester Union	192 203
Salford Union	68 416
Total	354 142

Source: B. Love, *Handbook of Manchester* (Manchester, 1842), pp. 22–3.

decade 1830–40, in particular, saw an overall increase in population of 26 per cent (compared with a 2.5 per cent increase in England as a whole); by 1849 it was calculated that this mass of humanity lived at the extraordinary density of 100 000 per square mile.[69]

Instead of the gentle gradations of hierarchical rank that characterised eighteenth-century society, a starkly simple division had appeared, and this new and alarming social structure of Manchester attracted as much comment as its sheer size. In 1835 de Tocqueville found 'a few great capitalists', 'little middle class' and 'thousands of poor workmen'. In 1844, another French visitor, Leon Faucher, agreed: nearly 75 per cent of the conurbation of Manchester and Salford were 'shopkeepers, operatives, publicans, mendicants, thieves and prostitutes'.[70] Chartists pointed to the electoral consequences of this social division: the overwhelming majority of the population were disqualified from exercising the right to vote on the grounds of insufficient wealth (see Table 1.3).

The Chartist marchers had gone out to Kersal Moor to voice their grievances and to proclaim their continuing commitment to the principles enshrined in the Charter. But, as Feargus O'Connor, the leading speaker of the day, pointed out, on occasions such as this there were ample opportunities for combining 'business' with 'pleasure'. On both counts, all agreed it had been a great day.[71] All too soon the time came for the bands to strike up, for the banners and flags to be folded and for the marchers to troop back beneath the 'inky canopy' to the harsher reality of their day-to-day existence. What it was like to return to these 'streets, lanes, alleys, garrets and cellars' may be explored by following home a handful of men who participated in the march.

One Chartist marcher, George Henry Smith, had a considerable distance to travel to return to his residence in Gratrix Square, Hulme – a journey

Table 1.3 Comparative Population and Constituency Figures, 1841

	*Population of Parliamentary Borough, 1841**	*Number of votes cast at 1841 General Election***	*Total %*
Manchester	242 983	13 077	5.38
Salford	66 624	1 863	2.79

**Source*: W. E. A. Axon, *Annals of Manchester* (Manchester, 1886), p. 215.
***Source*: B. Love, *Handbook of Manchester* (Manchester, 1842), pp. 271–2.

which was undoubtedly more difficult as a consequence of his poor state of health. Noted for the 'deformity of his body and unearthly countenance',[72] Smith was an example of a well-known early Victorian phenomenon, the 'factory cripple', and his personal tragedy serves to focus our attention on the massive health problems of the poor in a city where the mortality rate was one of the scandals of the age. These problems did not affect all parts of the city equally; in middle-class Broughton the death rate was 1 in 63.21, while in Manchester proper it was 1 in 28.33.[73] In a very real sense every step Smith took from Kersal to Hulme represented a decline in the relative chances of life and death. In testimony before Chadwick's Commission, one witness demonstrated this tragic inequality in another way; while the average age of death in Manchester for 'Professional persons and gentry, and their families' was 38, it plummeted to 20 for 'tradesmen and their families' and 17 for 'mechanics, labourers and their families'.[74] Alarmed contemporaries of all classes devoted a great deal of comment to the question of the general health of the working population. Faucher, for example, found the Manchester operative 'pale and meagre in appearance' and Kay had noted that an estimated three-fourths of the population 'are, or fancy they are, under the necessity of submitting to medical treatment'.[75] It was certainly evident that working men *felt* that their health was in decline. A member of the Manchester RA wrote in 1837 that 'the general appearance of the best of us is the bowed head, the sunken eye and cheek, the crooked leg, and attenuated form'. Similarly, Mark Gradwell, one of the members of the Tib Street Chartist branch, expressed a view held by many of his fellow-workmen when he concluded that 'they were becoming, as it were, perfect shadows, at least in comparison to what they were only a century back'.[76] Working-class radicals of this era often invoked the myth of a past 'golden age', but in the case of health the myth merged easily into reality. For his pamphlet, Adshead solicited the opinion of Dr Howard in relation to the prevalence of illness and mortality among the working classes:[77]

> it arises from the unhealthy nature of their employments – their protracted hours of labour – the crowded, confined, and ill-ventilated state of their dwellings – their deprivation of exercise in the open air – the foul and contaminated condition of the atmosphere – their intemperate and dissipated habits, and above all from their poverty and destitution.

In a paper to the Statistical Society a second opinion was given by a local surgeon, Dr Noble, who concluded that the '*general* mortality' of the people stemmed from[78]

> close atmosphere, confined dwellings, cellar residences, aggregations of individuals within very restricted spaces, irregularity of employment, and extreme variation in the rate of wages.

Clearly, as Peter McDouall told a Manchester audience, 'death presented itself under a hundred different forms'. Most Chartists agreed: in the factories, the 'hospitals of disease', they were 'killing themselves by inches'.[79]

In 1886, Ben Brierley, an old radical and poet, commented that 'factory operatives of the present day have no idea of the hardships endured by those of their class from forty to fifty years ago'.[80] At that time Kay had noted the 'prolonged and exhausting labour' and the 'dull routine of ceaseless drudgery' which was an attempt to 'rival the mathematical precision, the incessant and exhaustless power of the machine'.[81] Advocates of the factory system, such as Baines and Ure, were quick to proclaim factory labour to be 'far less injurious than many of the most common and necessary employments of civilised life' and, in the same breath, dismiss contrary evidence as 'theoretical twaddle'.[82] Pronouncements of this kind did little to shake the conviction of those who considered themselves to be the victims of 'white slavery'. Charles Connor was only one of scores of Manchester Chartists who pointed to the 'twisted limbs and star-like countenances' that littered the streets as conclusive evidence against the factory system. As William Dodd, himself a 'factory cripple', attested, 'accidents by machinery in the North are of weekly, nay, almost daily occurrence'.[83] These accidents occurred in addition to what was widely regarded as an endemic degeneration in the physiognomy of the factory labourers as a direct result of their toil. To the oracle of Manchester liberalism, the *Manchester Guardian*, this degeneration was evident in the increasing difficulty of obtaining militia recruits of the requisite height; to the Manchester *Poor Man's Advocate*, a forthright voice for factory reform in the early 1830s, physical degeneration (and crippling accidents) were evident in chronicles of individual suffering. The following is typical:[84]

> Here is a man, who, but for this system, would have been of fine person and proportions. He would have stood six feet high: for his arms, when extended, were upwards of five feet eleven inches, although he only stands five feet high. In addition to his deformity, he has lost the forefinger of the left hand, from the knuckle joint, and the middle finger is rendered useless by an accident at the mill.

George Smith, our Chartist marcher, had much the same story of personal disfigurement to tell. Smith emphasised the inhumanity of the perpetrators

of his injury when he recalled his experience to a Chartist audience at Batty's Circus in Manchester:[85]

> For two years, he had been obliged to be carried to the mill, and he was flogged daily because he could not perform the task imposed upon him. (Shame!). Was it not disgraceful that men who built altars to God...were oppressing women and children in their mills, and actually punishing, tormenting, and working them to death?

References to factories as 'cotton bastilles', 'modern hells' and 'hell holes' by Smith's contemporaries were legion. They reflected a mentality that drew images variously from the Bible and classical and romantic genres, but was born of real-life experiences like that of young Adam Rushton. Although 'only eight years of age', Rushton was 'sent to work at some silk mill'; on entering the factory he recalled:[86]

> If I had read over the entrance door the words 'Abandon hope all ye who enter here', I could not have felt a more intense despair.

'Now what advantages has this poor man gained for all these sacrifices?' asked the *Poor Man's Advocate* about a man crippled and disfigured in a factory.[87] According to the 'optimistic' school of economic historians in the long-standing academic debate about the relative standard of living of workers during the Industrial Revolution, he received 65 per cent more wages than an agricultural labourer as compensation for the 'disamenities' of urban industrialism. Two prominent representatives of this school who have written about Manchester – Peter Lindert and Jeffrey Williamson – argue that early-nineteenth-century labourers were attracted to the cities in droves by the substantially higher wages on offer and that they made this transition fully aware of the realities of urban life, regarding themselves as compensated in shillings and pence.[88] Even in the 'dark Satanic mills' of Manchester, we are confidently told, 'urban disamenities had only the most trivial influence on trends in the quality of life for labourers'.[89] George Smith might have objected to having his crippling injuries listed under the innocuous rubric of 'disamenities', as might James Scholefield, another leading Chartist, whose taste of 'urban disamenities' in working-class Ancoats included the death of his wife and three youngest children in a matter of four months in 1835 from disease.[90]

Nonetheless, in a challenge to social historians, Williamson has argued in a recent book that he and his colleagues have made 'it possible for the workers themselves to reveal their preferences' without relying on the 'coloured' observations of 'middle class' Victorians.[91] Chartist responses to the experience of Manchester and Salford tell a different story. Far from

acknowledging a relative wage advantage, they were characteristically shot full of moral indignation:[92]

> I point to the empty cottage of the workman, to the half-clad body of his wife, to the famished look of the child. Here you have one crippled in his limbs, there you have another stunted in his faculties. On the one side is the crowded pawn shop, on the other the frequented gin palace. Mark the wounded cripple bending to the hospital, see there is one just hurried into the jail. See that gray-haired slave tottering to the work-house, and watch, oh! watch pale-faced consumption pointing to the grave, to which a tide of scourge driven mortals are hurrying. Then turn from the prison to admire once more the cotton palace; turn from the scaffold to praise the factory, from the grave to applaud the system....

No doubt the Chartists would have preferred historian Stephen Marcus's summation that in Manchester 'men, women and children were living in shit'.[93]

The confident reference to significantly higher comparative wages also needs close scrutiny. The Manchester part of Lindert and Williamson's wage equation is based solely on the survey, conducted by David Chadwick on behalf of the Manchester Statistical Society, of the wage rates for more than 200 occupations in 1839 and 1859.[94] For 1839 Chadwick lists a remarkable range of remuneration from 58 shillings for $58\frac{1}{2}$ hours' work received by die-makers in calico printing, to 8 shillings for 69 hours' work received by women and young men engaged as piecers to self-acting mule-spinners. The fact that he was writing more than two decades later, in 1860, caused him to have misgiving about the general accuracy of his findings.[95] In addition to this note of caution, Chadwick was unashamedly offering trade averages which often varied substantially from shop to shop, factory to factory.[96] Secondly, Chadwick's figures provide no insight into the level of 'half time' employment which was endemic to the Manchester trades in the 1830s and 1840s. At times the problem of under-employment was as great as unemployment itself; as John Layhe noted in his 1842 *Report to the Ministry of the Poor*,[97]

> it is an extremely rare circumstance to find a weaver, a dyer, or a common labourer, whose services are in constant demand....Labourers, dyers, colliers, bricklayers, spinners, joiners, and even mechanics, have long complained of want of employment....

In mid-1839 one of the Manchester delegates to the Chartist National Convention, R.J. Richardson, reported to William Lovett in London that

the 'mills are working short time, some three days a week, some less, and many stopped altogether'.[98]

Richardson's gloomy report is corroborated if we follow other Chartist marchers home from Kersal Moor. According to Chadwick's survey, hand-loom weavers (on fancy fabrics) earned 16 shillings for a 70-hour week. In the reality of the 'old immoral world', however, William Barker, a Chartist from Hulme, put his earnings as a weaver at 11 to 12 shillings per week in 1839–40; Richard Moore, an old radical and a weaver of 50 years' standing stated that he earned a meagre 5 shillings a week, and Peter Power, a Chartist weaver residing in the notorious 'Little Ireland' district, could find no employment and, not surprisingly, felt the 'cries of his hungry children' driving 'him almost to madness'.[99] At the same time John Livesey put his earnings at 15 to 16 shillings a week in his trade of letterpress printing, which was a far cry from the 30 to 50 shillings listed by Chadwick. Although this is only a handful of cases, they must cast doubt on claims of substantially higher wages based solely on Chadwick's survey.[100] Other contemporary calculations of income lend further weight to these doubts. Adshead calculated the average weekly income for the early 1840s of 2000 families in Ancoats at 5 shillings, $3\frac{1}{4}$ pence. As if incredulous of his findings, he cited a second calculation by the Town Mission that showed a slightly higher average of 6 shillings, $3\frac{1}{4}$ pence per week.[101] Nowhere in Chadwick's figures is such a low rate of income for a full week's work quoted.

Living standards consist of prices as well as wages. Chadwick calculated the average expenditure of a family (husband, wife and three children) on basic items at just over 34 shillings per week (see Table 1.4). Prices published by the Statistical Society in 1842 for 1836 and 1841 confirm Chadwick's estimates within a few pence (see Table 1.5).[102] From his experience at the Domestic Mission, George Buckland spelt out the obvious conclusion in his 1840 Report:[103]

> The simple fact, however, in regard to a large mass of our working population, is indisputably this – the amount of their earnings is not proportionate to the high price of provisions. This disparity occasions, in a larger number of cases perhaps than any one imagines....

Under these circumstances, Chadwick's idealised weekly budget was trimmed by necessity; gone was provision for 'butcher's meat' and even bacon from the diet of the poor.[104] In the early 1830s Kay recorded the typical diet of the cotton operative: breakfast consisted of 'tea or coffee, with a little bread', ('Oatmeal porridge is sometimes used'); dinner 'generally consists of boiled potatoes', ('a few pieces of fried fat bacon are sometimes

Table 1.4 Statement of Weekly Expenditure in 1839

Articles	*Cost*
8 4lb loaves (32 lb)	5s.8d. (8½d. per 4 lb)
½ a peck of meal	8d. (1s.4d. per peck)
½ a dozen (6 lb) flour	1s.2d. (2s.4d. per dozen)
5 lb of butcher's meat	2s. 8½d. (6½d. per lb)
2 lb of bacon	1s.4d. (8d. per lb)
2 score of potatoes	2s. (1s. per score)
7 quarts of milk	1s.9d. (3d. per quart)
Vegetables	6d.
½ lb of coffee	1s. (2s. per lb)
¼ lb of tea	1s.6d. (6s. per lb)
3 lb of sugar	1s.9d. (7d. per lb)
2 lb of rice	8d. (4d. per lb)
1 lb of butter	1s.1d.
2 lb of treacle	8d. (4d. per lb)
1½ lb of soap	7½d. (5d. per lb)
Coals 1s.; candles 6d.	1s.6d.
Rent, taxes and water	4s.
Clothing	3s.
Sundries	2s. 5½d.
Total	34s. ½d.

Source: D. Chadwick, 'On the Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford and the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire, 1839–59', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. 23, March 1860, p. 35.

mingled with them'); for the evening meal tea was again used, 'accompanied by a little bread'.[105] Because this 'comparatively innutritious' diet related to those in full employment, it is not difficult to imagine that with the intervention of sickness or employment difficulties, further privation ensued.

In the depths of the 1841–42 depression, Faucher found that 116 factories and 681 shops and offices had closed.[106] During these periods of chronic unemployment people subsisted on meagre rations of potatoes or oatmeal assisted only by soup from one of several charity kitchens. In 1842 one soup-kitchen was dispensing thousands of gallons of soup per day.[107] For many Manchester workers who had seen better days, this soup was received at the expense of self-respect. Most of the recipients would

Table 1.5 Comparative Retail Prices of Items of Household Expenditure, 1836–41

Article	*1836*	*1841*	*Rise %*	*Fall %*
Rent (cottage)	5s.	4s.		20
Flour (per doz. lb)	1s.8d.– 1s.10d.	2s.4d.– 2s.7d.	27	
Meat (per lb)	4½d.–5d.	8d.–8½d.	54	
Bacon (per lb)	4½d.–5d.	7d.	40	
Oatmeal (per 10lb pk)	1s.	1s.4d.	33	
Butter (per lb)	9d.–10d.	1s.–1s. 1d.	33	
Milk (per pint)	1½d.	1½d.	nil	nil
Potatoes (per 20 lb)	7d.–8d.	11d.–1s.	50	
Tea (per lb)	6s.	5s.		17
Coffee (per lb)	1s.2d.–2s.	2s.	nil	nil
Sugar (per lb)	5½d.–6d.	8d.–9½d.	45	
Treacle (per lb)	2½d.	3½d.	50	
Tobacco	2¼d.	2¼d.	nil	nil
Soap (per lb)	5d.	5d.	nil	nil
Candles (8 per lb)	6½d.	6½d.	nil	nil
Salt (per 4 lb)	1d.	1d.	nil	nil
Coals (per cwt)	7d.	7d.	nil	nil

Source: W. Neild, 'Comparative Statement of the Income and Expenditure of Certain Families of the Working Classes in Manchester and Dukinfield in the Years 1836 and 1841', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. 4, 1841, p. 332.

have agreed with the prominent Chartist, Bronterre O'Brien, when he objected 'not to the soup, but to the cause which reduces so many to the necessity of begging for it'.[108] Commentators noted the 'ingenuity in finding alternative employment' among those facing starvation, but this surely exacerbated the sense of degradation and immiseration. 'Many who were good tradesmen' were reduced to hawking vegetables, blacking, pins and needles, ballads, tapes and laces, gingerbread or herbs and pills. There were even about 300 people who survived as 'bone pickers' or 'mud rakers' eking out a pittance from the 'produce of dung heaps'.[109]

The periods 1837–42 and 1846–48 were ones of extreme economic hardship, but it is important to note that unemployment and sporadic employment with consequent poverty and destitution had always loomed over the Manchester working class. The ongoing problem of poverty was

evident, first, in the numbers of persons seeking emergency relief. In 1838–39 the aggregate number of cases relieved was 109 044, which rose steadily to 130 156 in 1842 (see Table 1.6). At the same time as this high amount of outside relief, the report of the Poor Law Guardians showed 1261 inmates of the Manchester Workhouse in 1841.[110] Poverty gave rise to crime. Sir Charles Shaw, head of the Manchester Police, noted in 1842 that of the 646 offenders, 320 'had wanted employment on an average of 8 months and 25 days prior to apprehension'.[111] A boom in the rapacious trade of pawnbroking also provided ample testimony to the prevalence of distress. Engels counted over 60 pawn shops in Manchester, 10 or 12 of them in Chapel Street, Salford, but this was well below the figure of 129 reported by the *Northern Star*.[112] In his investigations in Ancoats and Newton in April 1840, Adshead estimated that 2000 families had pawned nearly £2800 worth of goods, 'chiefly from *necessity*'.[113] To further illustrate the incidence of pledging among the desperately poor, Adshead offered numerous cases such as the following:[114]

> J.C., hand-loom weaver, wife, and child. Out of work; when employed got 4s. a week; have had two quarts of soup; never had any other relief from parish; 'have pawned every stitch I had.' Ten tickets, amounting to 11s. 11d.:– Petticoat 8d.; beads, 6d.; chemise, 9d.; bundle, 3s.; shawl, 6d.; apron, 6d.; shirt, 6d.; gown, 3s.; bedgown, 6d.; Sheet, 2s. Lodgings 1s. 4d. per week; had no bedding, but coarse sacking, and without either chair or table!

The grim reality here was twofold: not only was 'J.C.' forced to pawn 'every stitch' his family possessed, but also those possessions did not

Table 1.6 Emergency Relief in Manchester, 1838–42

	Aggregate number of cases relieved	*Average weekly number of inmates of Workhouse*
1838–39	109 044	711
1839–40	113 185	845
1840–41	123 088	1075
1841–42	130 156	1080

Source: J. Adshead, *Distress in Manchester: Evidence of the State of the Labouring Classes in 1840–42* (London, 1842), p. 41.

amount to very much in the first place. The interest on these items was rarely paid, and the property itself less frequently redeemed.[115] Small wonder that to many observers 'the poor' and 'the working classes' became increasingly synonymous terminology during the 1830s.[116]

'A Lover of My Country' wrote to the *Northern Star* from Manchester in March 1842 that he 'had been employed in the cotton business upwards of twenty-six years, during which period I have seen considerably better days'.[117] He went on to identify machinery as the agency of decline. Many Chartists agreed. A proclamation issued by a committee of Manchester and Salford Chartists in 1840 put the case in typical terms:[118]

> unfortunately for the Sons of Toil, in the same ratio as we improve in mechanical skill and industry, in the same ratio are we sinking into a state of poverty and degradation which has no parallel in the history of our common country....

The widely-held Chartist perception of a direct relationship between mechanisation and immiseration was further evident in statements made by one of our marchers, James Leach, during his trial in 1843:[119]

> In twenty of the largest mills in Manchester, which in the year 1825 employed 1,018 spinners, there are now only 500 spinners, so that improvements in machinery have had the effect of turning more than one half the hands out of employment since 1825...Some of the operatives once employed in these factories are now going about the streets selling salt, gathering rags, and shouting ballads. Others are sent, under the direction of the commissioners, to sweep the streets of Manchester for a few shillings a week. But even that is no sanctuary for them, for a machine has been invented which sweeps and throws the dirt into the cart at the same time.

Leach's exposé of 20 Manchester mills was true of the cotton industry generally. The turnaround in that industry over 15 years was phenomenal. In 1829 there were 300 000 hand looms and 80 000 power looms in operation; by 1846, 255 000 power looms and only 60 000 hand looms were in use.[120] Nor was the 'rage for machinery' confined to the cotton industry: as Leach claimed in 1844, 'the machines set to work to make machinery in Manchester during the last twelve years are equal to the labour of *three thousand* mechanics, as previously employed'.[121]

It is not surprising that the *Manchester Times* claimed that, for some working men, the 'sixth point' of the Charter was 'No Machinery'.[122] From these quarters emanated the call for a return to a land-based agricultural society. The widespread adherence to this vision saw thousands of

Mancunians subscribe to the Chartist Land Company after 1845. Other Chartists, such as William Butterworth, who 'was no advocate for the stoppage of machinery', wanted it employed 'in some other way than at present' to prevent it continuing as 'a curse to the working man instead of a benefit'.[123] A wide number of reforms to the system – from a Ten Hour Bill to a minimum wage or a repeal of the New Poor Law – were touted as the 'remedy for slavery at home'. The Charter itself was seen as the pre-eminent social reform: as O'Connor put it, 'Your complaint is MACHINERY, and the remedy is the Charter.'[124] The common ground between those Chartists who wanted to scrap the system, and those who sought to reform it, was the view that life in the 'old immoral world' was one of 'misery, slavery and drudgery'. As a consequence, the vast majority of the working class would have agreed with Faucher when he wrote in 1844 that 'Manchester increases in pauperism with age'.[125]

Engels shared the views of the working people he befriended. He could not see the factory system as a wondrous achievement of science, and he reacted with disgust to the archetypal bourgeois view that at least money was to be made there. His expectations for social revolution got the better of him, however, when he went on to describe the urban experience as productive of social atomisation where each individual had a 'separate principle and a separate purpose' and every man's house was perpetually in a 'state of siege'.[126] Engels' working-class friends, who had ushered him into their councils, meetings and community networks, were living proof that a strong close-knit culture existed in spite of, and in opposition to, the hellishness of the environment. James Leach, a Chartist with whom Engels became particularly friendly, knew this well.[127] In all likelihood Leach did not return straight home after the Kersal Moor demonstration; as he had often done over the years, he may have called in at a local pub, the Queen's Stores, which was a centre for Manchester's flourishing radical culture. Situated in Whittle Street in New Cross, the Queen's Stores was a regular port of call for the Chartists from the Tib Street district. In this pub the patrons could move between the main bar and a large news room with a bagatelle board, but the Chartists tended to frequent the 'Snug' which was a retired room at the back of the building, where they could sit in privacy and discuss their affairs. A social oasis in a hostile landscape, this humble pub formed part of a network of similar structures which covered the working-class districts of the city.[128]

If one had been compiled, a guidebook to radical Manchester and Salford would have included everything from the network of newsagency -cum-bookshops such as James Wroe's in Great Ancoats Street and Abel Heywood's in Oldham Road, to pubs like the Oueen's Stores and Mitre

Inn on Hunt's Bank. A sojourn in one of these establishments provided a refuge from the smoke and gloom – whether it was to sit for a 'social glass' at the Queen's Stores, or to peruse the shelves at Wroe's book and music shop which, according to one visitor, were a 'perpetual feast', 'a world at one view...without dullness or commonplace'.[129] This imaginary guidebook would also have referred to radical chapels, such as William Jackson's in Lombard Street, Hulme and James Scholefield's Round Chapel in Every Street, Ancoats, which, for more than three decades, was a haven for all manner of reform causes. Other features in the guidebook would have been a host of small trading and business establishments, including Appleton's Hairdressers in Bank Top, or Owen's Tobacconists in London Road, and the numerous Chartist Rooms themselves.[130]

Many of the latter had seen extensive service over many years. After months of harassment from the local Whig authorities, the Salford Chartists, for example, settled in a room in Great George Street which had previously been home to the Salford Reform Association; Chartists in New Cross took a room in Smithfield which had been a cheese market and subsequently served Richard Carlile, the London republican, as a radical chapel (this room went on to be a branch of an educational organisation and then a Temperance Hall). When the Tib Street Chartists found their home to be structurally unsafe they obtained possession of the Teetotallers Room in Redfern Street; and, when the Ashley Lane branch was formed they occupied premises previously used by the Socialists of the district.[131] Buildings such as these were reminders that Chartism took its place in a congeries of radical movements for reform. Two prominent venues for large meetings deserve special notice – Carpenters' Hall in Garret Road, and the Hall of Science in Tonman Street, Campfield. For most of the 1830s the working class were in desperate need of suitably large indoor venues. Usually denied the use of the Town Halls, they often used Batty's Circus in Bridgewater Street, a venue designed for equestrian entertainment. But Batty's was expensive for working-class organisations to hire and, so it transpired, somewhat hazardous to its patrons: in March 1837 30 unfortunate members of the audience fell through the floor during a lecture by Robert Owen.[132]

To the relief of many activists Carpenters' Hall was completed in mid-1838 and was reputed to be one of the largest (and one of the 'strongest and most secure') buildings in Manchester, with a capacity of 6000. This two-storey building had external dimensions of 100ft × 60ft, and was constructed at a cost of £4500 by the carpenters and joiners union. Inside, the hall was 'elegantly fitted' with 'seats, orchestra [pit], gallery, organ loft, ante-rooms, attics and other conveniences' which included six or seven

shops on the ground floor and 'spacious cellars'.[133] Writing in 1890, Phillip Wentworth recalled his youthful impression of the Hall as 'vulgar', 'ugly' and 'utterly destitute of architectural beauty', but this did little to detract from its function as a venue for radicals. This can be seen in Wentworth's further recollection of being involved in a great crush of Chartists outside the hall attempting to gain admittance to hear O'Connor speak; of being unable to get in, but waiting for several hours outside to listen to his more fortunate friend, Sidwell, a 'thoroughgoing Chartist', enthusiastically relate the proceedings after their conclusion.[134] Although the hall was advertised as a venue for 'public meetings, balls, assemblies, concerts, lectures, trade meetings, floral and horticultural exhibitions, bazaars, &c...',[135] it always retained a special association with trade unionism and radical politics. Wentworth was correct when he concluded that without 'reference to this meeting place no exhaustive history of the struggles of the people of Manchester for social and political freedom can be written'.[136]

About two miles away from Carpenters' Hall, the Manchester Hall of Science, a name used in reference to Owenite establishments, was built. Plans for the Hall were published in July 1839, and a month later the foundation-stone was laid by Owen himself in a great ceremony. Owen returned just under a year later to be the special guest at the official opening.[137] The imposing brick exterior of the Hall was 'built in the Doric style of architecture'. Inside, the Hall was a lofty oblong with a spacious gallery around three sides. On the other end a six-foot-high stage had 'gas lights along the front, with side doors, and stage boxes over them, and narrow staircases lead from the stage doors to the boxes above, to a large room below, and to various ante-rooms'.[138] Despite its links with the Owenites, the Hall of Science was never exclusively an Owenite venue. From its inception it was open on 'equal terms...to all societies or associations, regardless of sect or party', and throughout its history many Chartist meetings took place within its walls.[139] On a visit to Manchester in September 1841, O'Connor emphasised the value of the Hall and other radical venues: 'this very room...and such buildings are auxiliaries, and not mean ones, in the cause of Chartism. Here we meet – here we commune together...this proves your power when you combine; this is the work of your own hands'.[140] O'Connor was correct: the existence of these meeting-places from the humblest association room to the massive halls was essential to the progress of working-class politics. Although they did little to diminish the pervasive hellishness of the environment, they also open our eyes to another dimension of working-class Manchester that E.P. Thompson has called the 'clubability' of the English

working class.[41] 'Clubability', like the buildings in which working-class activity was acted out, bears testimony to the strength of working-class community amid the adversity and ruination of the 'old immoral world'. It is to this community – in which the Chartist movement flourished – that we now turn.

2 'A Wall of Brotherhood' – The Reform Community

At a radical dinner in Bywater's Room in Peter Street in June 1838 a toast was 'drunk in solemn silence' to

> the immortal memory of Major Cartwright, William Cobbett, Henry Hunt, and the illustrious dead of every nation who, by their actions or their writings, have contributed to the cause of freedom.

Similarly, the room for a tea-party in Brown Street during June 1840 was 'tastefully decorated' with portraits of 'friends of freedom, too numerous to mention'. In this way the 'illustrious dead' from Volney, Voltaire and Mirabeau to Robert Emmet, George Washington and William Tell were merged with the honoured names of free-born Englishmen from Hampden to Paine to form a universal political tradition. Chartism took its place as the latest example in this long series of popular struggles for freedom.[1] The acute sense of the past that was evident in the Chartist mentality was underscored by the living reality of recent struggles: the gallery of heroes at Brown Street, for example, included an oil painting of James Wheeler, 'that old and long tried radical' who enjoyed the sobriquet 'the old veteran' among his comrades in the local Chartist movement. Along with his wife, Nancy, Wheeler had been wounded by the sabres of the Yeomanry Cavalry at the Peterloo Massacre in 1819 and between then and the Chartist years he had been arrested no less than eighteen times for what he called his 'patriotic conduct'.[2] Too few Chartist historians, having noted the protracted experience which Chartists such as Wheeler brought to the movement, have sought to understand the context in which this occurred.[3] In Manchester and Salford, continuity was fostered by sets of interpersonal relationships. For the most part, Chartism was a creed that flourished among kin, friends, neighbours, workmates and members of the local district Chartist associations. In the words of a prominent Chartist, Peter McDouall, this radical community was 'a wall of brotherhood'.[4] Beyond these 'primary group'[5] relationships, the district Chartist associations in Manchester and Salford were part of a more or less formal system of federalism. This federal structure was at best a compromise that reflected the perennial tension between local democratic control and the organisational needs of the movement on a broader scale. The chapter

which follows will explore these issues in a discussion of the sociological and organisational structure of Chartism in Manchester and Salford.

The 'Old Veteran', Wheeler, was only one of numerous stalwarts in the ranks of Manchester and Salford Chartism who were flesh-and-blood links with the struggles of the past. The extent of this continuity is worthy of more detailed emphasis. When the Chartists toasted the 'immortal memory of Major Cartwright', there were those in their midst like Richard Barlow who had been a member of Cartwright's Hampden Clubs during the second decade of the nineteenth century. Other Chartists were veterans of postwar radicalism such as Elijah Dixon and William Benbow who had been part of the ill-fated Blanketeer's march on London in 1817.[6] Even more esteemed were those like Richard Moore and John Murray who had been active during the 'magical 1790s'. Moore's reputation was based on his claim that 'there was no-one who had been in the field of Republicanism longer than himself'; Murray, a historian and raconteur who, like so many, had emigrated to Manchester from Ireland, spoke of his involvement with the United Irishmen, including Robert Emmet and Arthur O'Connor (uncle of Feargus), during the Irish rebellions of 1798 and 1803.[7]

No event in recent or remote history was more important for the Chartists of Manchester and Salford than the Massacre of Peterloo in August 1819, when the Yeomanry Cavalry had been turned loose on a peaceful crowd in St Peter's Fields. This was evident in innumerable ways, from the Chartist Monument erected in commemoration of Henry Hunt in 1842, to the scores of ballads and poems that perpetuated the legend among the next generation of radicals. Peterloo did not pass beyond the realm of living memory until late in the century. Even in the 1880s there were a dozen or so 'Peterloo Veterans' in the village of Failsworth, a few miles from central Manchester, who met in their local Liberal Club surrounded by the banners they had carried on that tragic day more than sixty years before.[8] Among the Chartist ranks there were numerous 'veterans' who had been present on that day in 1819. These renowned 'Huntites' included Phillip Knight, the Reverend James Scholefield, Henry P. Bennett and the irascible Wheeler who bore the scars inflicted by the Yeomanry Cavalry like a badge of honour.[9] During the bitter aftermath of Peterloo, another long-standing Manchester radical, James Wroe, who went on to be elected as one of Manchester's delegates to the first Chartist National Convention, came to prominence in the early struggles for a free press when he was imprisoned for libelling the Prince of Wales in his *Manchester Observer* during 1820. After serving six months of a three-year sentence, Wroe was again brought before the

Lancashire Assizes and released on the understanding that he would 'not interfere in any more political matters', an injunction he defied for the next 20 years until his death in 1844.[10] While Wroe languished in his cell, George Hadfield and other Manchester radicals turned their attention to the cause of Queen Caroline.[11]

Many more of those drawn to the movement were men who had served their political apprenticeship in the struggles of the 1830s. During the Reform Bill crisis early in the decade, John Brodie and Edward Curran had travelled to London as Manchester delegates to the National Union of Working Classes.[12] As the campaign for a free press heightened during the early 1830s, Abel Heywood, a rebel publisher whose subsequent Chartist credentials included membership of the National Executive of the NCA, was at the forefront of the struggle in the provinces, serving a term of imprisonment and incurring numerous fines for selling the leading unstamped radical newspapers, the *Poor Man's Guardian* and Sherwin's *Political Register*. When the London radical Republican, Richard Carlile, issued a call in 1833 for volunteers to oppose taxation, Manchester radicals such as George Exley promptly subscribed.[13] A year later when the Dorchester labourers were arrested, local radicals including Hadfield came forward to defend the rights of these early trade unionists, and during Feargus O'Connor's first tour of the north in 1835, veterans such as Scholefield welcomed him to Manchester as Hunt's successor.[14]

No sooner had the issue of the implementation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment flared in the north, than William Willis and Christopher Dean (both subsequently active Chartists) came forward to take their part in the opposition to the 'shamefully tyrannical and base enactment…which was grinding the poor to the level of slaves'.[15] And the list goes on. When the leaders of the Glasgow cotton-spinners union were arrested in April 1837 and tried for administering secret oaths, R. J. Richardson of Salford, who went on to be one of the most prominent Chartists in the north, was among the local radicals to become involved in a nationwide campaign of protest. A few months later, in December 1837, the rights of local trade unionists were under attack when several power-loom weavers were arrested in Holt Town on the outskirts of Manchester for running a 'picquet' during a strike. Some who would subsequently be Chartists were among those arrested, and others, including Christopher Doyle, Joseph Linney and Daniel Donovan, took a conspicuous part in their public defence.[16] In the same month other individuals who went on to be active Chartists, such as Henry Nuttall and James Leach, were protesting about the crushing of a popular rebellion by British troops thousands of miles away in Lower Canada.[17]

The career of R. J. Richardson provides a capsule statement of the history of local radicalism. A self-described 'radical of the old school of Major Cartwright and Henry Hunt', Richardson followed a road to Chartism that was protracted and richly varied. As a youth he witnessed Peterloo and his political involvement commenced in the mid-1820s when he spoke in connection with a series of power-loom weavers' riots. He first achieved national notoriety by moving an amendment for universal suffrage during a massive public meeting at the height of the Reform Bill crisis in 1832. With pardonable exaggeration an admirer stated that 'since that time no meeting of any importance has taken place in Manchester or Salford', in which Richardson had not 'taken a prominent part'.[18] During the 1830s he was involved in numerous national agitations as well as local government and trade unionism. By 1838, when he held office as Secretary of both the Manchester Trades Council and the South Lancashire Anti-Poor Law Association, he had become a founding member of the MPU, and, in September, he was elected as a Manchester delegate to the first national Chartist Convention.

Richardson was not alone in his radicalism. His radical newsagency in Chapel Street, Salford, was run jointly with his wife, Elizabeth, and his cousin, Charles Hulme. Similar family connections, where 'public agitation was reinforced by private affection', were common to many nineteenth-century reform movements,[19] and a notable feature of local Chartism. Among the many active radical couples in Salford were Richard and Jane Littler and John and Sarah Millington. On the other side of the Irwell, John and Jane Allinson, Joseph and Mary Linney, Samuel and Ann Scott, and William and Mary Barker were active in Manchester radicalism.[20]

The contribution of women to early-nineteenth-century radicalism, including Chartism, is no longer 'hidden from history'. As a result of several important studies R. S. Neale's conclusion in 1967 that working-class women were 'inert, exploited and apolitical' has been shown to be untenable.[21] The paucity of source materials about individual women in Manchester and Salford leaves them almost entirely mute as individuals, but the crucial contribution of large numbers of women (many of them nameless) to the local movement as teachers, as radical consumers and, most importantly, as members of radical families, cannot be underestimated. Identifying the fundamental importance of the family unit in local Chartism also provides the context for understanding why most women did not articulate a demand for explicitly women's rights.

On the few occasions when the women Chartists expressed their views in their own words they expressed a range of economic and social

grievances that related to matters (home and family) that were regarded at this time as their 'sphere'.[22] A resolution of the Salford Female RA in July 1839, for example, condemned the

> unchristian system of taxing the food and destroying the health of the people, and offering them the pitiful consolation of returning from the hell which they, by their avaricious system of covetousness, have made the once happy country, into a bastille, to be separated from the only beings that seem to have any concern for them....[23]

The 'Sisters in Bondage' – the female Chartists of Manchester – described theirs as a struggle for 'suitable houses, proper clothing, and good food'. A concern with economic issues was further evident in references to 'pawn-brokers and furniture-brokers' shops...crammed with the furniture and clothes of the industrious poor'; to 'begging from their neighbours'; to the spectre of unemployment – 'our husbands wandering the streets, willing to work but unable to procure it, thrown out in consequence of the improvements which have been made in machinery'; and to 'Poor Law Bastilles'.[24] This level of interest in socio-economic issues may have also owed something to the growth of female labour as a feature of the factory labour market.[25] An analysis of figures published in the *Parliamentary Gazetteer* in the early 1840s shows that women constituted 57.6 per cent of the adult labour force in the Manchester cotton industry.[26]

Although Chartist women were virtually silent as individuals, the voice of their collective action spoke volumes. Their participation was encouraged by the local men – James Cartledge, a Brown Street Chartist, went so far as to argue that without the involvement of women 'there would be no redemption'.[27] In late 1838 R. J. Richardson recommended the formation of female branches of the MPU, and over the following two years a number of branches were established: at Pollard Street (March 1839); Hulme and Chorlton (June 1839); Salford (July 1839); and Brown Street (December 1840). Later, in May 1841, a Female Branch of the NCA was established in Tib Street and in September 1842 a Manchester Female Victim Committee was formed.[28] Throughout this period there is evidence of on-going and efficient activity in the form of fund raising – for contributions to the Chartist National Rent, purchasing banners, or relief funds – and other auxiliary tasks such as organising functions, catering, making flags and scarves and participating in parades and other festivals.[29] Referring to an earlier period, E. P. Thompson has described these activities as fulfilling a 'moral support' role to 'the men',[30] but the female Chartists of Manchester and Salford did more than swell the numbers at parades and sew a few banners.

The female Chartists recognised that, as domestic consumers, they possessed considerable influence in 'their various streets and neighbourhoods'. As a result the strategy of exclusive dealing – the practice of boycotting and patronising tradesmen and shopkeepers according to their political persuasion – was dependent largely on the 'patriotic spirit of women' for its successful implementation.[31] Exclusive dealing was a long-standing practice in the popular radical movement. During the first Parliamentary election in Manchester in 1832, the strategy was used extensively in an attempt to persuade the newly-enfranchised 'shopocrats' that a vote for William Cobbett was in their interest. No sooner was the cry for universal suffrage raised, as was the case in early 1837 in Manchester, than a plan of exclusive dealing was proposed to facilitate its success.[32]

A better understanding of how such a system was conducted can be gained by following one of its notorious practitioners, William Tillman, Secretary of the MPU, as he toured the business establishments in Deansgate in August 1839. In each shop the pattern was the same. After reading a political address calling for (financial) assistance, Tillman produced the 'Black Book' which was drawn up into three columns: 'favourable', 'scoundrel' and 'call again'. Tillman's effectiveness can be measured in more than subscriptions of shillings and pence: when he was dragged before the local Magistrates for his actions, not a single shopkeeper could be found who was prepared to appear for the prosecution.[33] Once identified, the 'enemies' of the cause were exposed to the wider Chartist community which was followed by the final, and most crucial stage, the boycott itself. The front line of the 'shopocracy' were those most susceptible to this form of economic coercion, and in Manchester and Salford many women came to the fore to make good Tillman's threats. Among them were the Hulme–Chorlton Female Association and the Salford Female RA which resolved to 'enter into the spirit of the movement by trading with our friends only'.[34] Undoubtedly many shopkeepers doggedly refused to make the necessary contributions to Chartist funds and some were forced out of business for their stand. Others, like those 'afraid of appearing' against Tillman, considered more carefully.[35]

As sometimes happened in the middle-class reform movements of this era, some men disapproved of the involvement of women. 'C', for example, wrote to the *Regenerator and Chartist Circular*, to condemn the involvement of women in politics. Woman 'is affected by good or bad government as much as man, but I say she is out of her natural sphere when she quits her home'. In the past this had led to 'peculation, bickering, backbiting, jealousy, scandal and marital separation'.[36] This, however,

was a minority voice. Most of the Manchester Chartists would have agreed with R. J. Richardson that[37]

> If woman be silent in the passing of bad laws, she neglects her duty; if she is unconcerned about the accumulation of bad laws, she is criminally apathetic; and if she remains unmoved at the continuance of bad laws, she connives her own ruin; is party to her own disgrace....

There was no widespread call, however, for women's votes. Believing that the Charter would 'protect labour and secure plenty, comfort and happiness to all', the women confined their struggle to securing, as the Salford women put it, the rights of 'our husbands and fathers and brothers'.[38] Even Richardson,who concluded his pamphlet by calling for every woman to be given a voice in the election of 'law makers', added a footnote limiting this to 'spinsters and widows'. This qualification is crucial to understanding why most Chartist women did not articulate a demand for their separate rights – the common assumption was that the interests of married women would be protected by male suffrage in the family context. As Richardson stated, woman 'ought to share in the making of laws for the government of the commonwealth in the same manner as she would be with her husband in the councils of his household'.[39] James Leach declared that he was not opposed to female suffrage, but[40]

> he did not think that such a wide difference existed between men and women as to make it necessary for women to enjoy the suffrage: he thought that men, as fathers, husbands and brothers, would secure the best interests of women.

As we have seen, Richardson knew the value of a radical family from personal experience. So too did Leach; not only did he have a wife and three sons who supported him in his radicalism, but also a brother and sister were active in nearby Bolton.[41] Radicalism was also a family affair with the Wroes. When James Wroe was imprisoned in 1820 for sedition he was followed into prison on similar charges by his wife Alice, and his brothers William and Peter.[42] Another thoroughly radical family were the Wheelers of Whittle Street. James's credentials have already been described; his wife Nancy shared his origins as a radical republican and Huntite, but she went on to be a fervent 'Daniel O'Connellite'. Their daughter married a Chartist, John Livesey, who followed in his father-in-law's footsteps by falling foul of the law and subsequently suffering imprisonment for conspiracy during the strife-torn months of mid-1839.[43]

The children of these radical unions were often steered on a course for radicalism from the cradle. The hopes of some Chartist parents for

a flesh-and-blood continuity were reflected in the choice of a name. Many Chartist historians have taken the opportunity of making a light-hearted reference to the onerous burden placed on youngsters who were given names such as Feargus O'Connor Frost O'Brien McDouall Hunt Taylor and John Frost Feargus Bronterre Paine Smith, without going on to afford the practice much detailed attention.[44] The Chartists themselves undoubtedly saw the humorous side of radical naming. The Brown Street Chartists, for example, wrote to Queen Victoria recommending that she name her new-born child after Feargus O'Connor, and when she did not reply two branch members named their child Regina Feargus Smith.[45] The conferral of a radical name, however, was usually no laughing matter.

An army of 'young patriots' was collected in a special weekly birth column in the *Northern Star*. Manchester and Salford contributed more than their share with names that ranged from Henry Hunt Smith and Robert Emmet Cotton to William Tell Maddocks and a rash of children named after the most popular Chartist leader, Feargus O'Connor.[46] Radical naming was a long-standing practice in radical circles. James and Nancy Wheeler provide a good example; they named their eldest son, Richard Carlile Wheeler and their daughter, Henrietta Hunt Carlile Wheeler. On the day that Henrietta was given her name she was among nine young patriots so baptised by the Reverend James Scholefield. As the Register of his Church highlights, radical naming was evident at periods of political turmoil.[47] By the late 1840s the pattern had become evident to Angus Reach, a reporter from the *Morning Chronicle*:[48]

> a generation or so back, Henry Hunts were as common as blackberries – a crop of Feargus O'Connors replaced them – and latterly there have been a few green sprouts labelled Ernest Jones.

Radical naming can be seen as nothing more than a gesture of political ebullience, but it was also a manifestation of the social process that fostered the continuity of radicalism. First, the name was intended to provide a role model. The proud father of William Henry Eastwood, a member of the Tib Street branch, recorded his hope that the 'little patriot will imitate, as much as possible, the virtues of the noble minded patriots after whom he is called'. Beyond this however, Chartists recognised that a heroic name carried no talismanic qualities; the development of radical principles was the result of training and education. The name was merely a symbol of this process. Take, for example, the 'fine son' of Nancy and John Meadowscraft of Cheetham Hill, who was named Feargus O'Connor Meadowscraft in October 1840. Following the registration, the infant was

taken by his parents to the Tib Street NCA rooms to hear a lecture by William Griffin, a prominent Chartist and Manchester correspondent to the *Northern Star*. In a reference to the political baptism of the 'young Feargus', Griffin reiterated the advice given by Solomon in the Old Testament: 'Train up a child [in] the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it.' Chartists and radicals often cited this Biblical parable.[49] The same sentiment was expressed by Richardson who, before going off to prison in April 1840 declared:[50]

> for one martyr the Whigs make of me, I will leave them FOUR SONS trained to my principles, who I doubt not will inherit my hatred, and pursue the enemies of my country, whether foreign or domestic, even to the death.

The political development of the next generation of radicals was seen as one of the most valued contributions of women to the movement. This point was made at length by Tillman in a lecture to the Chartists of Tib Street:[51]

> much depends on the women…to her care is committed the important duty of giving a proper direction to the tender mind of youth; on her precepts and example depend, in great measure, the future conduct and pursuits of the man. Let but the mothers of the present generation beget a hatred of despotism in the hearts of their sons, and the succeeding generation will be a generation of freemen, and the declared and open enemies of despotism….

The 'purely proletarian education' provided by Chartists for their children earned the admiration of Engels and gave Feargus O'Connor the reassurance of knowing that 'there was a little army coming up, who if the old one was to die before the liberation of the country was gained would take the field and finish the work their fathers had so nobly begun'.[52]

By steering their young children on a course for radicalism, many Chartists were simply recreating their own experience. Many younger Chartists could trace their political involvement to their parents or a wider kinship influence, and often these veterans struggled for the Charter alongside their children. Locally there were some famous family political traditions. One who had an awesome reputation to live up to was Thomas Paine Carlile, son of the legendary London republican heresiarch, who was a member of the Council of the MPU and ran a Chartist newsagency at 220 Deansgate as well as the short-lived *Regenerator and Chartist Circular*.[53] Another was Richard Cobbett, a lawyer in Marsden Street and, for a short time, Secretary of the MPU. Richard was only one of the progeny of England's greatest journalist to become involved in politics:

brothers John and James followed in their father's footsteps, producing the London *Champion and Weekly Herald*, and sister Anne ran the family newsagency and publishing business in Kensington.[54] But the younger Carlile and Cobbett were by no means alone. An active Chartist in the late 1840s, John Cartwright Fildes, received his radical name at the same Peterloo commemoration as Henrietta Wheeler in 1821; his mother, Mary Fildes, was a veteran republican who had been slashed at Peterloo and went on to be one of Richard Carlile's staunchest supporters in Manchester.[55] Ben Brierley, the radical poet from Failsworth who was in his youth during the Chartist years, had a father who was an avid follower of Feargus O'Connor and a grandfather who was a notorious Jacobin. Having witnessed the destruction of the Hunt Monument in 1888, J. H. Crosfield indignantly wrote to the *Manchester Guardian*:[56]

> Family traditions in reference to Peterloo have often fallen upon my ears and stirred my heart. My earliest political recollection is that of the great Chartist gathering in 1842 when Mr. Feargus O'Connor laid the foundation-stone....

The participation of youths in Chartist meetings or Chartist parades was often referred to in derogatory terms by a hostile press.[57] The Chartists themselves, however, set great store by the involvement of the younger generation in the movement and took the innovative step of creating a special place in their organisation for youth.[58] Both Manchester and Salford had active Youth NCA branches and (in the words of the Brown Street Youths) they saw the responsibility of carrying on the 'universal struggle for freedom' as shared between themselves and 'their fathers and friends'.[59] From the reports of their meetings we find that they were often joined by their parents giving rise to active father-and-son partnerships. Treasurer of the Brown Street Youths, for example, was John Hargreaves, who inherited more than his trade of cordwaining from his father, Gabriel, a well-respected 'Painite' who had been active since at least 1831. Father and son served together on the NCA General Council and continued to be active into the 1850s.[60]

The example of brothers James and Robert Cooper is worthy of examination in greater detail. When Robert and James Cooper became President and Secretary respectively of the Manchester Parliamentary Reform Association in the early 1860s, this represented the culmination of two careers marked by enduring contributions to political radicalism, Owenite socialism and the Secularist movement; at one time, Robert, the more prominent of the two, had been called 'the most dangerous man in England'.[61] The origin of both careers, however, lay in their father's house

in Barton-upon-Irwell in Manchester. Robert was born in 1819 and James, the elder of the two, sometime earlier in that decade. In his autobiography Robert offers an insight into the radical environment in which both boys were nurtured. Robert described his father as a 'radical of the old school, a devoted admirer of Paine, Major Cartwright, Cobbett and Hunt'. During the years of postwar repression his father had taken the dangerous step of refusing to join the volunteers, and he had also been present at Peterloo where he 'only escaped being cut down by the drunken cavalry by protecting himself with a stout stick'. This brush with the authorities did nothing to cool the passion for radicalism that he had already begun to instil in his sons. Days after the massacre James and another brother were expelled from Sunday school for sporting White Hats – the emblem of Orator Hunt's movement. The tremendous impact of Peterloo on subsequent generations of radicals was evident in Robert's recollection: 'I was wont to listen with great astonishment to the startling incidents of those stirring times. The particulars of the Peterloo massacre made a lasting impression on my juvenile mind.' During the 1820s the Cooper sitting-room in Manchester was used on Sunday evenings for political discussion:[62]

> At the private discussions in my father's house, I first heard the names of Voltaire, Paine, Washington, Cartwright, Horne Tooke, Cobbett, Hunt, Richard Carlile, Robert Owen, Henry Brougham, George Coombe, and other representative men of advanced views.

Nor was the practical side of the boys' political education lacking. The first time Robert saw Henry Hunt, at a Peterloo anniversary meeting, he had to be lifted to his father's shoulders to 'obtain a good sight'. Speaking at a Chartist meeting in 1842 in praise of James Scholefield, one of Hunt's closest allies in Manchester, James Cooper recalled, 'the many times he had seen Mr Scholefield exerting himself at public meetings when he himself was too young to take part in politics'.[63] But James and Robert Cooper were never too young. The conclusion in Robert's autobiography succinctly sums up what was happening in these radical families: 'Surrounded by such influences, is it surprising that I imbibed very decided views upon theology and politics?'[64]

Family political traditions carried the movement from generation to generation, but continuity was also encouraged by friends, workmates and neighbours. Again some brief examples illustrate this point. Before his rapid rise to the post of National Secretary of the NCA, the young John Campbell enjoyed the friendship and tutelage of Abel Heywood with whom he lodged for a time in Oldham Road, and from whom he learned the trade of publishing and newsvending. The Reverend William Jackson,

a prominent Chartist preacher, lodged with Chartists Samuel and Anne Scott in their home in Stretford New Road, Hulme and John Joynson and Samuel Pemberton who were the mainstays of the Manchester Cordwainer's NCA branch, shared a house at 80 Hardman Street, Deansgate.[65] The bonds of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood were reflected and in turn reinforced in the local district Chartist association.[66] The 'army of universal freedom' in Whittle Street, for example, described themselves in terms of 'old veterans' and 'young recruits' to the struggle.[67] In 1848 a young Chartist, William Nixon, told the court that he had no family save for his fellow-defendants who had counselled and educated him at local Chartist meetings.[68]

According to one correspondent to the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, associations were formed when 'two or three public spirited individuals...call together their friends in their several localities'. The model was clear to Richardson, who spoke of Chartists meeting in fours and fives so that 'each man's kitchen might become a council chamber' and whose *Black Book* was recommended to the 'domestic politician...to spend his evenings in political discussion with his neighbour by his fireside'.[69] In the heartland of Manchester radicalism at New Cross, the passer-by was entertained (many commentators recalled) by daily street-corner discussions of a 'politico-theological nature' and others noted the many 'private battles' between 'shop mates and friends' on political topics.[70] Attempting to harness this spontaneous activity, the Chartists established a system of classes, based on the Methodist model, in Hulme and Chorlton, the London Road district, and Salford.[71] The network organised by the Salford NCA in December 1840 included classes in Cobbett Street, at John Millington's in Hope Street, at William Sumner's in West Market Street, in Bow Street, at John Campbell's in Addersly Street, and in Springfield Road.[72] These classes represented a geographical subdivision of the area covered by the Salford NCA headquarters in Great George Street. James Leach's initial response was that the 'class' system was more suited to rural areas than to cities the size of Manchester and Salford, but by 1848 he had become a staunch advocate of a system of 'classes and sections'.[73]

Some idea of the social networks that underlay Manchester Chartism can be seen in the addresses of a group of Irish Chartist hand-loom weavers who wrote to Feargus O'Connor in 1841. The eighteen signatories to this letter were as follows:

POWER, Peter	16 Old Mount Street
RYAN, John	19 Old Mount Street

FLINN, Patrick	17 Old Mount Street
HAYES, Michael	25 Old Mount Street
BARRY, John	23 Old Mount Street
WHITE, John	12 Old Mount Street
FLINN, James	33 Old Mount Street
KELLY, Thomas	15 Old Mount Street
NANGLE, David	15 Old Mount Street
O'BRIEN, John	15 Old Mount Street
PATTERSON, Thomas	19 Old Mount Street
BARRY, Thomas	22 Old Mount Street
STAR, Joseph	15 Old Mount Street
FIELD, Edward	23 Ludgate Hill
FIELD, Timothy	32 Ludgate Hill
COLLINS, James	14 Ludgate Hill
WHITE, Patrick	6 Silver Street
O'BRIEN, Matthew	14 Back Ashley Street

This group of individuals lived in a tight cluster of adjoining streets between St George's Road and the Manchester–Leeds Railway in Little Ireland – thirteen of them between numbers 12 and 33 Old Mount Street. The occurrence of four pairs of identical surnames (two Flinns, two Fields, two Barrys and two O'Briens) suggests bonds of kinship. Beyond blood, friendship and neighbourhood, the bonds between these individuals were trade, ethnicity and probably Catholic religion, as well as Chartist politics. The leading figures in the group, Peter Power and Patrick Flinn, represented the kernel of the Irish hand-loom weavers trade union and the Chartist branch established in what was considered to be a 'hotbed' for Daniel O'Connell's Irish Repeal party.[74]

Herein lay the strength of the 'wall of brotherhood'. This culture of radicalism existed prior to the publication of the Charter in 1838.[75] For its origins we have to look back to the proliferation of small political discussion-groups during the postwar years. According to Archibald Prentice, the climate of repression after Peterloo led to the formation of many a 'little congregation of the workshop and at the fireside, at which the principles of representation were discussed'. The same pattern was recorded by Samuel Bamford, another Peterloo veteran, when he referred to the secret meetings at Manchester: sometimes 'they were termed benefit societies'; sometimes 'botanical meetings', whose 'real purpose [was] divulged only to the initiated'. It was also evident in the Sunday meetings in the Cooper family's sitting room in Barton-on-Irwell during the 1820s, and it endured among the Peterloo veterans of the Failsworth Liberal Club for much of the century.[76]

E. P. Thompson has described this culture as one of mutuality – a 'workaday ethos of mutual aid' that reflected a collective self-consciousness of 'social man' among the formative working class. Yet even Thompson has cast doubt on the cohesiveness of the 'rituals of mutuality' in a city as large as Manchester.[77] In this respect, Thompson is in keeping with the assumption found in classical sociological literature that primary group structures were 'doomed' in the industrial city.[78] Lewis Mumford's pioneering work on urban sociology during the 1930s, for instance, began where Engels' most gloomy references to social atomisation left off. Mumford described the 'insensate', 'paleotechnic' towns epitomised by Manchester in the 1840s as nothing more than 'man heaps', 'machine warrens, not an organ of human association'.[79] In his *Victorian Cities*, Asa Briggs has highlighted the inadequacy of Mumford's perspective by pointing to the 'close personal relationships, through friendship and marriage' that characterised the Manchester middle class during these years.[80] The same may be said of the working class; in fact it was said at the time. Writing in 1841, the Canon of the Manchester Collegiate Church, the Reverend Richard Parkinson, concluded:[81]

> there *is* such a thing as *neighbourhood*, for the poor as well as the rich; that is, there is an acquaintance with each other arising from having been born or brought up in the same street; having worked for the same master; attended the same place of worship....

A similar point was made by Robert Vaughan, a Unitarian Minister, in his 1843 treatise, *The Age of Great Cities*. Vaughan contended that the dense cohabitation of the urban environment provided the catalyst for association and intellectual endeavour on subjects as diverse as 'commerce, politics and religion':

> The shop, the factory, or the market place; the local association, the news-room, or the religious meeting, all facilitate this invigorating contact of mind with mind.

More succinctly, Leon Faucher went so far as to describe Manchester of the 1840s as the 'capital of...associations'.[82]

An ethos of mutuality was widely identified as characteristic of the social relations among the Manchester and Salford working class. Commenting in the 1840s on the incidence of positive mutual assistance, Elizabeth Gaskell, attributed to her fictional working-class Chartist, John Barton, the words 'it's the poor, and the poor only as does such things for the poor'.[83] The observations of numerous contemporaries lend credibility to Gaskell's words. Typical of these were Adshead's amazement at the

'sympathy and compassion of the poor for those who are still less favourably circumstanced' and Parkinson's admission that the '*poor give more to each other than the rich give to the poor*'.[84]

The Chartists of Manchester and Salford were noted practitioners of the 'rituals of mutuality'. This can be seen in numerous ways. It was evident both in the 'exclusive dealing' to which reference has been made, and in the 'informal economy' that comprised a network of cooperative stores, pubs, newsagencies, as well as small traders, hawkers and vendors, and political professionals. Second, a strong ethos of mutuality was reflected in the collective support of those facing hardship, particularly the victims of political persecution and their families. For many Chartists this was the essence of Chartism. At a meeting in Carpenters' Hall during March 1840 to farewell local Chartist prisoners on their leaving for trial, Joseph Linney warned the assembly:[85]

> if the wives and children of their friends who were now going to prison were to be neglected, it would reflect everlasting shame on the people of this district.

The resolution carried unanimously after Linney's exhortation referred to the 'duty' of the working class to support the families of imprisoned Chartists. There were lapses – Linney referred to the neglect of his family during his six-week sojourn in Kirkdale Gaol, and in 1842 John Campbell publicly rebuked the Chartists of Newton Heath on the outskirts of Manchester for failing to support the wife and five young children of local Chartist, John Massey, during his imprisonment awaiting trial.[86] More often than not, however, the upshot of the commitment to collective support was that substantial sums of money (coming typically from the pockets of people who could ill afford it) were given to a plethora of defence, victim and relief fund committees.[87] During 1840, for example, the Manchester Relief Fund Committee managed to pay weekly 'wages' of 4 shillings to each of the wives of the local 'victims of tyranny and misrule'. Underlying these formal structures were the exertions of workmates, friends, and neighbours. After a Chartist called John Hodges was arrested in September 1839, 'some of his friends in the factory…[where] he worked subscribed 5 shillings for his relief'; in the case of the Reverend William Jackson it was his radical congregation which provided him with over £21 to ease the burden of his stay in Lancaster County Gaol during 1840–41.[88] This point is further evident from a glance at any of the published subscription lists. The list of subscribers to the defence fund for John Frost and the Welsh prisoners in January 1840 was typical. Manchester and Salford contributions to this national fund were made at

subscription points which were geographically distributed: Heywood's booksellers in Oldham Road, New Cross; Richardson's newsagency in Chapel Street, Salford; Thomas Barrows' drapers and T. P. Carlile's newsagency in Deansgate, South Manchester. Within each of these separate lists a further sub-division was apparent. Acknowledged under Heywood were individual subscriptions and listings such as 'collected by Amos Smith' and 'collected by James Grimshaw' as well as references that reflect friendship, neighbourhood or common trade: 'a few tailors', 'a few shoemakers', 'a few journeymen cloggers', 'the Springwater Print works', 'a few friends, Failsworth', 'the Reformers, High Lane', 'a few friends, Salford', and 'seven lovers of justice, Red Lion, London Road'.[89]

The 'rituals of mutuality' flourished among friends, neighbours and workmates and even the patrons of local pubs. In one respect this collective culture was insular and inward-looking and militated against the broader loyalties of class which had emerged during the 1830s. Many Chartists accepted O'Connor's advice to 'trust no man out of their own locality' and tenaciously guarded the local 'wall of brotherhood' against outsiders and the threat of spies and *agents provocateurs*.[90] In Salford the Chartists enshrined this principle in the rules of the Association; at a meeting in May 1840 they agreed:[91]

> That each member be allowed to introduce one person, and no more, to the weekly meetings of the Union…and that the members henceforward be elected by ballot, each candidate to be proposed and seconded by two members.

Engels, it has been noted, required an introduction before he could move freely in Manchester's radical circles. The authorities were also aware of the effectiveness of the wall; the reports of Ramsey, a spy, were discounted in Whitehall on the grounds that 'it was very unlikely that he would be able to get access to meetings of societies where secrecy was the object of the members'. Not only were strangers regarded with suspicion, reporters from hostile newspapers were often threatened and occasionally ejected from Chartist meetings.[92]

A consequence of identifying the local association as the central venue of Chartist activity is that beyond the 'wall of brotherhood' the movement across Manchester and Salford must be seen as, at best, a loose federation of more or less discrete organisations. This was evident in the nature of the MPU.[93] The MPU was revived in April 1838 when a provisional committee was formed and by October of that year an inaugural executive Council had been elected.[94] Also by late 1838 a pattern of activity had been established: 'general meetings' of the Union were held every

Monday evening (and discussions Thursdays and Saturdays) first in Newall's Buildings in Market Street, home for many 'patriotic societies', and later in the Cheese Room at the Smithfield Market in New Cross. The newly-elected 41-member Council convened every Friday evening at Wheeler's in Whittle Street or in the convivial surroundings of the Mitre Tavern, Old Church Yard.[95] If the apex of the MPU is easy to describe, the rest of the organisation is less so.

Over the next twelve months, 'branches' from all points of the compass were formed or identified as being under the aegis of this umbrella organisation: Pollard Street (November 1838); Pendleton (December 1838); Salford (February 1839); Hulme and Chorlton (February 1839); Whittle Street (March 1839); Ashley Lane (June 1839); Bank Top (June 1839); Deansgate (June 1839); North East (December 1839); Brown Street (March 1840).[96] How these 'branches' related to one another and in what exact way they related to a structure headed by the Council is unclear. An ever-changing nomenclature pointed to an absence of structure. The individuals identified as being members in Whittle Street, for example, were also referred to (and referred to themselves) intermittently as the Manchester RA (February 1837–February 1839) and the Manchester Universal Suffrage Association (July 1838–May 1840).[97] Similarly, reports of the activities of the Hulme 'branch' of the Political Union, the Hulme RA and the Hulme Northern Union (signifying nominal affiliation to Feargus O'Connor's Great Northern Union founded in June 1838) referred, in fact, to the same group of individuals who met in the Reverend Jackson's 'School Room' in Lombard Street, Hulme, and then the King's Head beer-house in Clarendon Street, Chorlton, and later around the corner at the Town Hall tavern, Chatham Street.[98] The Pollard Street 'branch' was also known as the Manchester WMA.[99] Reports of the formation (actually revival) of the Salford Political Union in early 1839 obscured the fact that the same individuals had been meeting in St Stephen's Street for at least a year as the Salford WMA. Within weeks of the reported formation the same group of people were referred to as the Salford RA and the Salford Universal Suffrage Association.[100]

This apparent indifference to the organisational needs of the movement beyond the immediate locality reflects the fact that the MPU was never more than a loose federation based on a largely pre-existent geographical subdivision of Manchester and Salford. Whether it was an explicit objective or not, the result of the inaugural executive election reinforced this geographical federation by bringing together representatives of the various districts and localities. Among the successful candidates were Elijah Dixon from Newton, John Rimmer and William Willis from Salford,

Phillip Knight from Islington, James Scholefield from Ancoats, William Jackson and Robert Middleton from Hulme and Chorlton and James Redfern and Thomas Davies from New Cross.[101]

If the exact nature of the MPU structure evades description, it can be said that the organisation, and in particular the Executive Council, was riven with factionalism and acrimony. A spy eavesdropping on a meeting of the Council in December 1839, for example, reported to the Home Office that[102]

> the tone and tenor of their desultory conversation...was decidedly that of despair and mutual mistrust...no doubt upon my mind that they were all jealous and mistrustful of each other. Some, even seconding motions in the course of debate (which they had previously strenuously objected to) purely with the view of supporting a friend who might have been getting the worst of a discussion....

This revelation was confirmed by other sources. One member of the Council, R. J. Richardson, wrote a confidential letter to the Home Secretary, demanding to know why Christopher Dean, who succeeded James Wroe as his fellow Convention delegate from Manchester and Salford, had *not* been prosecuted. The corollary to this private inquiry was Richardson's public reference to the 'stormy meetings' of the MPU 'betwixt my friends and my mortal enemies'. As the disputation between the Richardson supporters and a 'clique' headed by Joseph Linney festered on, even the injunction of the editor of the *Northern Star* that 'nothing is more calculated to damage the cause than squabbles like this and we invariably exclaim on seeing them, a plague on both your houses', went largely unheeded.[103]

Behaviour of this nature was not uncommon among the leadership of Manchester and Salford radicalism. A member of the Manchester RA complained in February 1837 that 'never were jealousy, mistrust, suspicion, envious rivalry, sneaking subserviency and open and shameless violation of principle so general as now'.[104] After a public dispute between Feargus O'Connor and Bronterre O'Brien in 1842, a small faction of O'Brien's supporters in Manchester that included prominent Chartists, James Wheeler and Arthur O'Neill (not to be confused with his Birmingham namesake),[105] complained of victimisation at the hands of a 'system of Terrorism' employed by local Chartists fiercely loyal to O'Connor.[106] If anything, the movement became more fissiparous in decline. In 1851, one of those the O'Brienites complained of, James Leach, was on the other end of the 'system'. He responded by branding his opponents a 'band of Political Inquisitors, who were endeavouring to

establish a national organisation on popular clamour, private letter writing, and vindictive denunciation'.[107]

Feuds over personal or policy differences will surprise no student (or practitioner) of politics. Often, however, the root of the discord was what were perceived to be local interests. A report in June 1839 was quick to point out that the object of recently formed MPU branches was 'not to act independent of, or hostile to the Political Union' which was perhaps a thinly-veiled reference to the bitterness with which the Salford branch had resisted a financial levy imposed by the Council a month before.[108] The refusal of the Salford Chartists to accept a decision of the Council that had not been supported by their representative and was not felt to be in the interest of their local association, highlights the relatively slight importance of the Council for rank-and-file Chartists. The Salford Chartists defended their autonomy from a position of strength; in May 1839 it was claimed that they were the single largest Association in the north of Britain.[109] In other cases, local autonomy was of long-standing and had been hard earned. In Hulme and Chorlton, for example, the local radicals were proud of their reputation as a 'democratic' district, which they traced back to their success in campaigning for William Cobbett at the time of the first Parliamentary election in Manchester in 1832.[110] Small wonder that delegates to the various regional and sub-regional structures established by the Chartists felt bound by, and often quoted from, instructions received from their 'constituents', and exhibited a great deal of reluctance to act without consultation.[111] The same point was equally applicable on a national scale. In April 1839 Richardson penned a blistering letter to William Lovett, Secretary to the General Convention, complaining that they had acted while he and other northern delegates were not in attendance, which he felt was tantamount to 'reckoning without your host'.[112] So reluctant were Chartists to concede any power which might be seen as eroding local democratic control that at a meeting of South Lancashire delegates in June 1839 – at which Manchester and Salford were well represented – there was general agreement on the decision *not* to act through the Manchester Council as this would tend to 'concentrate too much power in one portion of the community'.[113] The issue of local democratic control plagued the movement into the 1850s. At a National Conference in May 1852, for example, the Manchester delegate, William Grocott, bluntly stated that 'neither the Convention nor Executive had a right to dictate to localities how they should manage their affairs'.[114]

Those Chartists who sought to develop a national organisation were confronted by a morass of legal impediments and restrictions. The law precluded a national organisation from comprising self-governing

branches; it also forbade correspondence between a federation of autonomous organisations. As Eileen Yeo has correctly pointed out, what was illegal was exactly what many Chartists sought to create – 'a national movement which still allowed for a large measure of local autonomy'.[115] The need to preserve local democratic control, however, did as much to doom the successive attempts of Chartists to create a nationwide structure (Northern Union, NCA and National Association) to partial and sporadic success as did the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act.

Easily the most successful of these attempts was the NCA, which was born at a series of meetings in the Griffin Inn, Great Ancoats Street, Manchester during July 1840. Marx and Engels regarded the NCA as the 'first working men's party the world ever produced', a claim for special significance which has been enthusiastically echoed by some Chartist historians, including Theodore Rothstein for whom the NCA was a 'fully-fledged Labour Party', and James Epstein who has called the NCA 'the first independent political party of the working class'.[116] Such claims must be qualified, however, by a recognition that the primary loyalties of rank-and-file Chartists remained local ones. According to published figures, the NCA distributed approximately 3200 membership cards in Manchester and Salford between March 1841 and October 1842. This was a mere three-and-a-half thousand 'members' in an area which contributed 119 280 signatures to the 1842 Chartist petition, which may mean that George White of Leeds was not exaggerating when he referred to the problems of 'Poor John Campbell' who 'always estimated the progress of the movement according to the number of cards sold and paid for' at a time when 'not one in a thousand have got a card'. These rough estimates of the number of cards distributed give very little indication of the smaller number of regular dues-paying members.[117] Even in an area which contributed three of its sons – Campbell, Leach and Heywood – to the National Executive, the NCA never embraced the entire Chartist population and problems such as irregular payment of membership that dogged the movement across the country were evident. By July 1842 Manchester figured prominently on Campbell's published 'black list' of branches more than three months in arrears with dues, and this at a time when the local movement was said to be progressing at 'railway speed'.[118]

Campbell's mentor, Heywood, had experienced exactly the same difficulty during his term as Treasurer of the MPU three years before.[119] The coming of the NCA heralded little or no change in others ways also. Reports over the months after its formation point to the existence of an extensive NCA branch network in Manchester and Salford. In addition to those with a trade-union base, NCA branches can be identified in: Brown

Street, East Manchester (September 1840); Tib Street (September 1840); Hulme–Chorlton (October 1840); Salford (October 1840); Newton Heath (October 1840); Booth Street, Salford (May 1841); Salter Street (July 1841); Strand Street, Hulme (September 1841); Miles Platting (October 1841); Redfern Street (November 1841); York Street, Hulme (December 1841); and Carpenters' Hall (April 1842).[120] In many cases, however, all that had changed was the name. The radicals of Whittle Street had long been searching for better premises; in September 1840 it was as the Manchester Universal Suffrage Association that they moved literally around the corner into Tib Street. Within a month the first references to a Tib Street branch of the NCA appeared. Here they stayed until November 1841 when the floor showed signs of giving way and they moved a quarter of a mile or so to a large room in Redfern Street. The transition to the NCA was just as quick and painless in Hulme and Chorlton and Salford; the branch of the Universal Suffrage Association in Brown Street disbanded and reconstituted itself as the Brown Street NCA by simple resolution.[121] The NCA branch network was in large part the direct descendant of the previous collection of 'branches' and associations under the nominal head of the MPU, a point emphasised by the remarkably similar geographic distribution of centres. In both cases the members of these local 'branches' embraced a cause and not an organisation.

Some historians have suggested that Chartism might have been more successful had the General Convention of 1839 taken more positive steps in providing central coordination of the movement.[122] To assess Chartism unfavourably because of the absence of a national organisation fails to take account of the nature of the movement at its grassroots. The Chartist agitation was based on a core of demands that were, by definition, national. Although this undoubtedly united Chartists in a nationwide community of spirit, the Chartist experience was primarily a local one. Even the massive regional demonstrations which brought together hundreds of thousands of people were agglomerations of small, discrete units. The Manchester district component of the Kersal Moor demonstration in September 1838, for example, was made up of 21 villages as well as the various Manchester and Salford localities. Most of these groups marched with their own banners and bands; all marched as separate identities.[123]

In 1831, the Manchester radical and trade unionist John Doherty described his local branch of the National Association for the Protection of Labour as 'in fact, a little REPUBLIC'.[124] The same might be said in 1841 of branches of the NCA. Chartism flourished in Manchester and Salford among kin, friends, neighbours, work-mates and in local district associations. If this belies the view that Manchester and Salford was one

undifferentiated 'man heap', it also means that we must see local Chartism as a loose federation of largely discrete organisations. The fireside discussion, the work-shop conversation, the street-corner oratory, and the taproom debate among the 'seven lovers of justice' in the Red Lion in London Road, were all manifestations of a structure of community life that nurtured a flesh-and-blood continuity of radicalism. In these venues children were set on course for radicalism, even from the cradle, and along with new recruits were inspired by the accumulated experience of the struggles of the past. This culture of radicalism existed before Chartism, and Chartism inherited it largely intact.



Part II:
A Mosaic of Reform



3 Trade Unions and Politics

The parameters for a discussion of the relationship between Chartism and trade unionism remain largely unchanged since the publication of Mark Hovell's narrative, *The Chartist Movement*, in 1918. Hovell contended that 'many unionists were also Chartists', but he was equally adamant that 'on the whole the organised trades remained aloof' from the movement.[1] This two-fold perspective has been broadly endorsed by historians of Chartism. According to Neil Stewart[2]

> While some unions debarred politics from their policy and a few, such as shoemakers, hatters, joiners, etc., were under the control of the Chartists, the majority – while their members were Chartists – were in no way part of the movement.

Historians of trade unionism from the Webbs to Henry Pelling have arrived at an identical conclusion. Writing at about the same time as Hovell, Sidney and Beatrice Webb argued: 'there is no reason to believe that the Trade Unions at any time became part of the [Chartist] Movement...though some of their members formed the most ardent supporters of the Charter'. Similarly in the 1960s Pelling declared that the 'direct links between the unions and Chartism' were 'tenuous'.[3]

The first effective challenge to the Hovell orthodoxy was written by I. J. Prothero in his 1971 article on the London Chartist trades; ten years later in a study of Chartism and the trades in South East Lancashire, Robert Sykes went on to argue that an important group of trade unions underwent a process of politicisation during the late 1830s and early 1840s.[4] The present chapter will explore the orthodoxy along the following lines. In Manchester and Salford the first part of Hovell's thesis is undoubtedly accurate – a glance at the careers of any number of Chartists highlights their simultaneous involvement in trade unionism. It is, however, a view that has not been fully extrapolated; not enough has been done to gauge the impact of individual Chartist involvement on the day-to-day affairs of trade unions and, consequently, a vital component of the relationship between the two movements has been missed. The second part of the Hovell thesis is a generalisation which can be shown to be unsatisfactory in the light of the complex relationship that existed between organised trade unionism and Chartism in Manchester and Salford, particularly between 1837 and 1842. Many important questions about this relationship have yet to be explored. This is despite the extensive work on the Manchester-based Plug Plot strike of 1842. The reasons

are two-fold: first, historians have tended to accept the spontaneity of the strike as a basic premise which has directed attention away from analysis at the organisational level. Second, and most important, much of the work on the events of 1842 has failed to explore a broader chronological context.

This chronological context stems back at least to the founding of the Manchester Trades Council early in 1837. A Council was mooted at a series of public meetings of the trades in March and April of that year, and the political orientation that was to dominate the body was evident both in the purpose of the meetings – opposition to the New Poor Law – and in the political affiliations of those who took a leading part in the proceedings. Trade unionists who twelve months later were at the forefront of local political radicalism, such as the ubiquitous R. J. Richardson, representing the carpenters and joiners, and Edward Curran, representing the hand-loom weavers, were prominent.[5] From the Chair at one meeting, Christopher Dean, delegate of the stonemasons, who went on to represent Manchester at the first Chartist National Convention, defended the right of trade unions to be involved in political issues and foreshadowed the formation of a broad Council of delegates from the Trades which would take 'the affairs of the locality in which they lived into their own hands'. The concluding statement by Curran was even more revealing of a political agenda:[6]

> this was only the prelude to other meetings of the working men of Manchester...and now they had begun to act for themselves in a proper yet decided manner, another public meeting would shortly be held for the purpose of discussing the important subject of universal suffrage.

As a result of these meetings a petition signed by some 13 000 Manchester and Salford trade unionists condemning the introduction of the New Poor Law was forwarded to the House of Commons.[7] By October 1837 the Trades Council was meeting every Saturday and Wednesday evening at the Mosley Arms in Park Shambles, Manchester.[8] The fact that the agenda of the body was not in the least restricted by any qualms about political involvement was again reflected in those who had been elected office-bearers – Dean as President, and Richardson as Secretary. From a Public Address issued by the Executive in January 1838, however, it is clear that only a section of the Manchester trades had become involved (see Table 3.1). As can be seen from an examination of this table, the building trades (stonemasons, carpenters and joiners, bricklayers) and textile trades (spinners, dyers, fustian-cutters and hand-loom weavers) were represented on the Executive.[9] This sectionalism had been recognised two months

Table 3.1 Trade Unions and the Chartists

	Trades Council Executive, 1837	*Trades Council 1837–39*	*Kersal Moor September 1838*	*Kersal Moor May 1839*	*Liberation Parade August 1840*	*Liberation Parade December 1840*	*Liberation Parade September 1841*	*NCA Pre-August 1842*	*NCA Post-August 1842*
Cotton Spinners	X	X	X						
Dressers & Dyers	X	X	X		X		X		X
Silk Skein Dyers		X							
Calenderers		X	X						
Fustian-Cutters	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
National Associated Smiths		X	X					X	X
Smiths and Wheelwrights		X	X						
Smiths and Farriers		X	X					X	
Moulders		X							
Stonemasons	X	X	X						X
Carpenters and Joiners	X	X	X			X		X	X
Bricklayers	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
Plasterers		X	X						
Painters		X	X					X	X
Plumbers		X							
Brickmakers		X							
Sawyers (Wood)		X							

Table 3.1 (*continued*)

	Trades Council Executive, 1837	*Trades Council 1837–39*	*Kersal Moor September 1838*	*Kersal Moor May 1839*	*Liberation Parade August 1840*	*Liberation Parade December 1840*	*Liberation Parade September 1841*	*NCA Pre-August 1842*	*NCA Post-August 1842*
Marble Sawyers		X							
Boot & Shoemakers		X	X					X	X
Ladies' Shoemakers		X	X			X		X	
Hatters		X							
Rope Makers		X							
Coach Makers		X							
Handloom Weavers (Silk)	X								
Mechanics			X					X	X
Marble Masons			X						
Tailors			X					X	
Calico Printers						X			
Boilermakers					X			X	X
Powerloom Weavers								X	
Hammermen								X	

Model for Table adapted from R. Sykes, 'Early Chartism and Trade Unionism', in J. A. Epstein & D. Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience*, London, 1982, p. 160.

earlier by Dean when he complained 'that some of the trades had not yet seen the advantage of sending a delegate'.[10]

At its peak the Trades Council represented about thirty trades. The high-point was political rather than industrial: in June 1838 the Council took the highly provocative action of boycotting the procession to celebrate the Coronation of Queen Victoria. The 23 trades that attached their names to the Address announcing this course of action again included the textile and building trades as well as the principal metal and engineering trades, the clothing trades, in particular the boot and shoemakers, and also the rope-makers and coach-makers.[11] Political motives were at the heart of the boycott: the Address referred to their determination not to be seen as the 'dupes' of their 'oppressors', 'the capitalists', who 'ride roughshod over prostrate labour' as a consequence of the 'baseness of our political system'. The boycott was warmly welcomed by the Manchester Universal Suffrage Association as a refusal 'to support the present system of society' and given the common membership of the two bodies there was no shortage of individuals to convey the congratulations.[12] The political leanings of the Trades Council were reinforced two months later when a very similar group participated, as trades, in the first great Chartist rally on Kersal Moor in September 1838 (see Table 3.1). Although most of their banners displayed the motto of the trade, some had incorporated political sentiments for the occasion: the banner of the Manchester mechanics bore the inscription, 'Every man has the right to one vote in the choice of his representative' and that of the fustian-cutters listed the Six Points of the Charter.[13]

By contrast the involvement of organised trades in Manchester and Salford Chartism ebbed during 1839. There were some indications of on-going support: the dressers and dyers, fustian-cutters, spinners, ladies' shoemakers and brickmakers were listed as making financial contributions to the Chartist National Rent during early 1839 and, most importantly, in June of that year the Manchester shoemakers resolved to join the Northern Union.[14] This society, based in Hardman Street, Deansgate, and run by Chartists Samuel Pemberton and John Joynson, went on to be a strong Chartist cell into the 1840s, being one of the first Manchester trades to join the NCA.[15] Beyond this there is little positive evidence. In March Richardson took the floor of the Convention to deny the 'false report which was abroad to the effect that the trades of Manchester had deserted the Chartists'. His further claim that while two trades 'had left' others had 'warmly taken up the agitation', is not supported by evidence.[16] As Sykes has shown, the Trades Council (Combination Committee) issued no public statements during 1839, and the report in the *Northern Star* mentioned the involvement of only the 'Political Society of Fustian Cutters' in the

second Kersal Moor rally in May 1839.[17] Another important test for the trades would come within three months. On 6 July the Chartist Convention decided to call a national strike or 'sacred month' to commence on 12 August. The extent to which organised trades had ceased to take active part in the local movement was evident in the fact that the Manchester Chartists did not even formally consult them about this policy.[18] When consultation did occur it was left to the last minute and was organised by Richardson, one of the leaders of the Trades Council, who had publicly opposed the proposal since his resignation from the Convention in July. At the time of his resignation Richardson referred to the high incidence of short-time work among the Manchester mills and warned that the proposed stoppage would 'bring irredeemable ruin upon thousands of people'. According to R. G. Gammage, Richardson's assessment was confirmed on the floor of the Convention by the other leader of the Trades Council, Dean.[19] In his handbill announcing the meeting with the trades, Richardson continued to attack the strike, describing it as a 'rash foolish experiment' that would 'sink' the 'glorious struggle' for liberty 'beyond the horizon'.[20]

Richardson's hastily convened meeting was held on Tuesday 6 August at the Hop Pole Inn in Hardman Street, less than a week before the scheduled commencement of the strike. At the meeting, 'authorised' delegates from the ladies' shoemakers, dyers, millwrights, stonemasons and silk-dyers as well as unauthorised representatives from seven other trades were present; the Chair was taken by Thomas Read, a mason and member of the Executive of the Trades Council. The attitude of the trades at this meeting to the Convention policy was cautious if not cool: the delegate from the shoemakers 'understood that they were not favourable to a holiday at present'; 'the millwrights were in the same position, as were also the dyers'; 'the Stonemasons consider that the Sacred Month was a month of blood' and 'not practical'; 'the silk-dyers considered that the country was not prepared for the Sacred Month at present', but 'if it was put off from the 12th of the month to some more distant period they would come out at all hazards'. After a speech from Richardson the meeting adjourned until Friday. While they had been deliberating, the Convention in London decided to abandon the 'Sacred Month' in favour of a three-day 'National Holiday', but this recommendation was not widely publicised in the north until the newspaper editions of Saturday 10 August. The previous night, at their adjourned meeting, the trades rejected Richardson's recommendation 'not to take part in the attempt to commence the National Holiday', but the meeting ended inconclusively.[21]

On 12 August, the first day of the 'National Holiday', some Manchester factories were closed, and others were subsequently turned out by several

large crowds of protesters. There were also sporadic clashes with the police and the army who were on the streets in large numbers. On the second morning a couple of mills were closed, but for the remainder of the week there was no attempt to observe the 'National Holiday' in Manchester and Salford.[22] The strike failed elsewhere. For Hovell, this highlighted the fact that 'trade societies as a whole stood outside the Chartist movement':

> The societies could not be induced to imperil their funds and existence at the orders of the Chartist Convention, and without the organised bodies of workmen the general strike was bound to be a fiasco.

Other factors were also important, including O'Connor's public equivocation, the arrest of half-a-dozen of the local Chartist leadership a week prior to the commencement, as well as the unfavourable economic climate detailed by Richardson.[23]

The collapse of the general strike did not spell the end of the involvement of individual Chartists in trade unionism. Early in 1840, for example, months before any revival of public support for the Charter by organised unions, Home Office records show that Chartists were 'very busy' among the fine spinners during a major industrial dispute then in full cry.[24] Similarly, in November 1841 when the Manchester trades met to consider what action to take in relation to a dispute involving the London stonemasons (themselves a well-known Chartist trade) the Chair was occupied by a Chartist (James Stansfield) and no less than five other Chartists, Benjamin Stott, Richard Littler, John Bailey, Alexander Hutchinson and John Murray, addressed the gathering.[25] The impact of this degree of involvement on the course of local unionism was considerable. Take, for example, the power-loom weavers of Manchester and Salford. From 1837 to 1842 they were in many ways a thoroughly Chartist trade – an assessment that reflects the almost total penetration of their local organisation by active Chartists.

In November 1837 the first group of many power-loom weavers were arrested on a picket-line at Guest's Mill in Holt Town on the eastern fringe of Manchester during a strike over a wage reduction. Prominent among those arrested were brothers James and John Allinson who both went on to play active roles in local Chartist politics.[26] Other men who would be important figures in the local Chartist movement were prominent in their defence: at a meeting of the union, days after the arrests, Daniel Donovan, Joseph Linney and Christopher Doyle all spoke. Also present was Feargus O'Connor who, in a speech of over an hour, compared the arrested men to the Dorchester labourers and the Glasgow cotton-spinners whose

persecution for union activities had attracted national attention.[27] O'Connor again referred to the strike in a speech at a Manchester meeting to protest the treatment of the Glasgow spinners, characterising it as a battle between 'wealth' and 'labour' on the 'very threshold of Manchester'.[28] The dispute at Guest's continued during December and into January 1838, ending in further arrests. This time Doyle, the 'ring-leader' of the power-loom weavers, was arrested and later imprisoned for nine months in Lancaster Castle.[29] Although industrial in nature, this dispute highlights at this early time that the Manchester and Salford power-loom weavers' union was dominated by men who had or would develop close ties to the cause of political radicalism.

Much of the bitterness of the Holt Town dispute was re-kindled in June 1840 during a major industrial confrontation involving the power-loom weavers in neighbouring Stockport. The Manchester weavers met to discuss the strike at Carpenters' Hall and again the platform was full of Chartists. Daniel Donovan, President of the union, occupied the Chair and the speakers included Linney who evoked the name of Christopher Doyle, the 'brave and unflinching advocate of freedom', and concluded by stressing that 'until you have your political rights you never can or will be better'. The keynote speech was given by John Campbell, a Salford power-loom weaver who was rapidly rising through the Chartist ranks.[30] A few weeks earlier Campbell had recommended in the *Northern Star* that 'there should be a union of power–loom weavers for the two-fold object of resisting a reduction of wages, and for the attainment of the People's Charter'. In his address to the meeting he picked up Linney's theme: 'it was impossible to speak on this subject without touching upon politics'.[31] Although at this time the power-loom weavers had not been formally associated with the Chartist movement, the individual involvement of many Chartists in the local leadership was clearly shaping the policy of the trade.[32]

The contributions of Linney and Campbell at this meeting were variants of an important theme that was to be increasingly employed by Chartists in their unions – the primacy of the political over the industrial struggle. Sykes suggests that this was an elaboration of a radical attitude that stemmed back at least to 1834 when the *Poor Man's Guardian* scoffed at the lack of political awareness displayed by many trade unionists;[33] and it had been articulated by James Wheeler at a formative meeting of the Trades Council in 1837.[34] Sykes has also rightly criticised those historians who have seen the development of a more comprehensive interest in trade unionism as a personal policy of Peter McDouall; in turn he has shifted emphasis to the role of James Leach.[35] The general notion that political

reform represented the answer to many questions was at the heart of the appeal of Chartism; the development and promotion of the idea among the trades owed a lot to the contributions of Chartists among the power-loom weavers. Campbell and Linney in particular hammered the theme at a succession of meetings after June 1840. At a large meeting in Carpenters' Hall in September Linney contended that:[36]

> it was better to die struggling for their rights, than to live to be trampled underfoot by tyrants...so long as bricks and mortar were represented in the Commons House of Parliament, instead of the blood and sinews of the people, so long must they expect to be the slaves of every tyrant who thought proper to oppress them.

A month later in the same venue Campbell moved:[37]

> it is the opinion of this meeting, that neither the power-loom weavers, nor any other body, will ever receive a fair remuneration for their labour until we are fully and fairly represented in the House of Commons.

It was not until December that Leach first articulated this position in public and not until April the following year that McDouall issued his well-known call for the formation of Chartist Associations based on trade unions.[38]

The perspective offered by Linney and Campbell did not, however, amount to an attempt to establish Chartism as an alternative to unionism, as has been suggested by J. T. Ward in his history of Chartism.[39] Linney, Campbell and even Leach, whose lectures were often advertised as focusing on the 'inefficiency of trade unions', were concerned with priorities, not alternatives. As the NCA Executive, which included Campbell, Leach and McDouall, stated in an Address in late 1841:[40]

> The question for the trades is one of easy comprehension. Whether it would be better to have two protections or one – social power without political, or both combined?

In November 1840 the power-loom weavers began meeting at the Chartist room in Whittle Street and by March 1841 Campbell announced that they had formally joined the NCA.[41] During the second half of 1840 when the power-loom weavers were taking their first steps towards formal association with the Manchester Chartists, the support of other unions began to resurface. The operative dressers and dyers, boilermakers and 'various trades' participated in the liberation parade for Peter McDouall and John Collins of Birmingham in August 1840;[42] at a similar event to celebrate the release of Doyle, Richardson and other Manchester Chartist

prisoners in December, the carpenters and joiners, fustian-cutters, calico-printers, ladies' shoemakers and brickmakers all participated, as trades, in the march (see Table 3.1).[43] Meanwhile, in September the shoemakers became the first of the Manchester trades to join the NCA, and they were followed by the tailors, carpenters and joiners prior to the affiliation of the power-loom weavers in March 1841. As noted, in April, McDouall issued a call for the formation of trade-based Chartist associations. This recommendation was less of a policy breakthrough than a rendering in words of a process already well under way.[44]

In November 1841 the NCA reiterated McDouall's call which, in practice, was a plea for organised trades to join the NCA. The affiliation of the Manchester unions gained impetus after two crucial meetings in March 1842. The first meeting was held at the home of the Manchester trades, the Hop Pole Inn, under the aegis of the OACLA, ostensibly to consider union participation in a rally on Easter Monday in favour of both the Charter and corn law repeal. In large part the trades that were represented had supported the Chartist cause on previous occasions – the smiths, power-loom weavers, shoemakers, fustian-cutters, engravers, hand-loom weavers and mechanics. According to the reporter from the *Northern Star*, 'every delegate from the trades expressed himself in a similar manner, that is, they were instructed to say that they would come out for nothing short of the whole Charter'.[45] This report was not challenged in the Manchester press and the outcome should not be surprising considering that the delegates were Chartists to a man – Alexander Hutchinson, Daniel Donovan, John Murray, Edward Curran, John Bell, John Connor and Isaac Higginbottom.[46] A second, much larger, meeting of 64 delegates – 48 representing 24 different Manchester trades and factories – was held a week later. Again there was overwhelming support for the Charter. An amendment which sought to add the cause of corn law repeal to the Chartist agenda of the proposed demonstration was soundly defeated by a vote of 59 to 5.[47] The meeting closed with a resolution moved by James Cartledge, Secretary of the South Lancashire Chartist delegates, that 'all trades be recommended to join the NCA forthwith'. In the following weeks and months up to the end of July 1842 the fustian-cutters, mechanics, smiths, bricklayers, painters, spinners, boilermakers, hammermen and farriers all joined the shoemakers, tailors, carpenters and joiners and power-loom weavers as trades in the ranks of the Manchester NCA.[48]

The process of accession was brought to an abrupt halt by the general strike of August 1842. Although these events are well-known there is a need to re-examine some of the evidence. Contemporaries and historians have differed widely in their interpretations of the cause of the strike –

from Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, who saw a high-level Chartist conspiracy behind every turn of events to Donald Read, a historian of Manchester Chartism, who has emphasised the almost total spontaneity of the outbreak:[49]

> The strike was a sudden economic explosion, not the beginning of a planned political revolution. There was no causal connection between Chartism and the outbreak.

In his *General Strike of 1842* Mick Jenkins has sought to develop a context for the episode. By so doing he highlights the irrelevance of attempting to either implicate or exonerate the Chartist leadership in the outbreak. He further points to the redundancy of references to spontaneity behind which lurk a simplistic model of economic causation.[50] Jenkins rightly emphasises the overwhelming support for the Charter in the directing body of the strike – the Trades Delegates Conference. When the crucial issue was put to the vote the decision to make the Charter the object of the strike was carried by over 120 votes in a Conference that consisted of about 140 delegates representing 85 trades. At least 39 of these trades were based in Manchester and Salford.[51] The deliberations of the Conference bear testimony to the widespread acceptance of the view that politics offered a solution to industrial grievances. Daniel Donovan set the tone early on the first day of proceedings. President of the power-loom weavers numbering 'some thousands', he was also a prominent Chartist and he emphasised that his union had 'embraced the opinion that the Charter was the only thing calculated to protect wages'. Even those delegates who spoke in favour of limiting the strike to the pursuit of economic objectives, often also spoke of their support for the Charter. For example, one of the small minority who voted against the Charter on the floor of the Conference was Robert Gardner, a delegate of the Manchester engravers and printers. In his speech he denounced the recommendation to the working classes 'not to return to their labour till they obtained the Charter' as 'foolish and insane', but he went on to describe himself as a 'Chartist to the backbone'.[52]

The proceedings also underscore the importance of the involvement of active Chartists in the affairs of the local trades. Jenkins sets out to demonstrate this through an appendix which lists all the delegates by trade and reserves a space for comment on their simultaneous or subsequent Chartist activities. As it stands, however, he does little to further his objective: of upwards of 140 delegates Jenkins notes only half-a-dozen active Chartists, two of whom did not become so until 1848.[53] In reality, even among the much smaller number of Manchester delegates, there were at least a dozen

who at the time of the Conference were active Chartists in Manchester and Salford: William Bell (late of Salford representing the fustian-cutters of Heywood); John Connor (fustian-cutters); Daniel Donovan (power-loom weavers); Thomas Doyle (painters); George Hadfield (spinners); Alexander Hutchinson (smiths); Samuel Pemberton (shoemakers); John Roberts (boilermakers); William Robinson (wiredrawers); Charles Rourke (fustian-cutters); Benjamin Stott (bookbinders); Thomas Whittaker (joiners).[54]

Chartists also took a prominent part in the strike outside of the walls of the Trades Conference room. The first meeting of several thousand turnouts on Granby Row Fields, Manchester, on 9 August was addressed by Richard Pilling, a Stockport Chartist, Peter Brophy, Secretary of the Irish Universal Suffrage Association, William Dixon, Manchester correspondent to the *Northern Star*,[55] and Christopher Doyle, the 'ringleader' of the power-loom weavers, who was not long out of prison for his Chartist activities.[56] At 4.00 a.m. the next morning, when an estimated eight thousand strikers again assembled at Granby Row, the speakers included William Dixon, Christopher Doyle, Daniel Donovan, Jeremiah Lane,[57] and a leading Liverpool Chartist, Bernard McCarthy; at noon a further mass meeting of up to twenty thousand turnouts was again regaled by Chartist speakers: Donovan, Dixon, Brophy and Lane.[58] The same pattern was repeated over the coming days and weeks.

By pointing to the presence of these men both inside and outside the Trades Conference it is not intended to breathe new life into the conspiracy theory advanced by the Home Office which sought convictions for sedition and conspiracy against the Chartist leadership. This case was based tenuously on the publication of an Executive Address at the height of the unrest that indicated support for the extension of the strike to include a political objective, and on the speeches given by many Chartist leaders to crowds of striking workers.[59] In the aftermath O'Connor joined the Tory press in developing an alternative conspiracy theory which saw the ACLL as the instigators of the strike. Other leaders, such as McDouall, clearly felt that they had little choice but to become implicated in the strike:[60]

> The question of having or not having a strike was already decided, because the strike had taken place: the question of making or not making that strike political was also decided, because the trades had resolved, almost unanimously, to cease labour for the charter alone...[the question was] whether chartism should or should not retain its ascendancy in its natural territory.

McDouall's notion of Chartism having a leadership role in a 'natural territory' is helpful in understanding this episode without reference to

conspiracy. It was evident in the legion of Chartists who addressed meetings of the turn-outs; it was reflected in the number of active Chartists among the delegates to the Trades Conference; it was even evident in the use of the Brown Street Chartist room as headquarters for the power-loom weavers union as they prolonged the dispute into September.[61] Sykes has pointed out that, if anything, the general strike of August 1842 interrupted the accession of the trades to the NCA.[62] In October, some weeks after the last of the striking unions had returned to work, an important report published in the *British Statesman* highlighted that the burgeoning relationship between Manchester Chartism and the trades had been resumed:[63]

> The movement among the trades in this town progresses rapidly. There are now enrolled in the Association no less than ten trades – namely, the carpenters, painters, machine-makers, smiths, fustian cutters, shoemakers, boiler makers, bricklayers, stonemasons, and dyers. There are a number of others favourable to the Charter, and who will, when things settle down a bit, enrol themselves members of the Association.

The institutional links between unions and the Chartists of Manchester and Salford in 1841–42 reached and even exceeded those of the period 1837–38. There was a great deal of consistency between the two periods. Twelve of the 17 trades that participated in the Kersal Moor demonstration in 1838 joined the NCA in 1841–42 (see Table 3.1). Underlying this formal involvement was the active participation of individual Chartists in union affairs, which helped popularise the Chartist contention that political reform represented the best answer to industrial grievances and set the ground for the political agenda of the 1842 strike. In some cases it predisposed the trade towards formal association with the movement. There is a strong correlation between the trades listed in Table 3.1 and the occupational profile of the members of the local NCA (see Appendix B). With 10.75 per cent the largest single group among the Manchester and Salford NCA were shoemakers, the classic radical artisans.[64] It will be remembered that the shoemakers were members of the Trades Council and at Kersal Moor in 1838; they joined O'Connor's Northern Union as a group in June 1839 and were the first of the Manchester trades to join the NCA in September 1840. With the other trades in Table 3.1 the story is similar: the carpenters and joiners, who had been among the most consistent supporters of Chartism, constituted 4.4 per cent of the local NCA; the dyers, whose involvement with working-class politics stretched back to at least the early 1830s,[65] were 3.4 per cent, the mechanics were 7.3 per cent and the fustian-cutters were 3.7 per cent. These figures provide an idea of what McDouall meant by Chartism's 'natural territory'. For historian Gareth Stedman

Jones, the adoption of a political objective during the 1842 general strike represented a 'triumph' for a political strategy which Chartists 'like Leach and McDouall had been pressing in the previous two years'.[66] Ultimately, however, rank-and-file Chartists, shoemakers such as Samuel Pemberton, joiners such as Thomas Whittaker, or dyers such as Edward Cassidy deserve as much credit as agents of politicisation. In a trade-union lodge or a Chartist branch these men were in their 'natural territory'.

This pattern continued during the 1840s. When, in 1846, for example, a major strike in the building trades precipitated an aggregate meeting of the Manchester trades, a number of Chartists (including Rankin and Littler) played leading roles in the proceedings.[67] It was also evident at the height of the Chartist crisis in 1848. In April a group of about thirty trades began meeting at the Railway Inn, Deansgate, which led to the formation of the Northern Trades Council. Many of the familiar trades were represented on the body – tailors, dressers and dyers, sawyers, painters, spinners – who embraced a broad programme of social and political reform, including the establishment of local Boards of Trade, home colonisation, shorter working hours and universal suffrage.[68] The unanimity on this last point distinguished the events in Manchester which otherwise mirrored developments among the London trades.[69] The President of the Northern Council, J. W. Parker, a tailor, explained their almost unanimous decision to adopt a political objective with eloquent simplicity: '*the members of that association of trades were chartists*'.[70]

4 Municipal Chartism – Local Government in Manchester and Salford, 1837–42

In October 1842 an editorial in the *Northern Star* urged Chartists throughout Great Britain to emulate the Leeds Chartists and take an active part in local politics.[1] In this respect the *Star* had overlooked a tradition of involvement by radicals and subsequently Chartists in the local affairs of Manchester and Salford which stemmed back at least to the early 1830s. This tradition can be found in an examination of a number of distinguished careers. Abel Heywood, whose service in local government spanned over fifty years from the mid-1830s to his death in 1893, was only one of many local Chartists who might have justifiably taken issue with the editor of the *Northern Star*. Aspects of many of these individual careers will be brought to light in the chapter which follows, but it is important to stress that during the Chartist years these individual contributions reflected a widespread interest in the municipal affairs of Manchester and Salford throughout the Chartist ranks. Particularly in the years 1837–42 this level of interest resulted in what effectively amounted to a policy of municipal Chartism. Modern historians have failed to notice the evolution and implementation of this policy.[2] This is a significant omission because municipal Chartism represented an important aspect of the local Chartist experience; by rescuing it we highlight both a commitment to the principles of democracy at the grassroots level and a considerable degree of political sophistication among the rank-and-file. But first it is necessary to emphasise that differences in the structure of local government in Manchester and Salford were considerable: both the impact of issues and the chronology of municipal reform varied greatly. These differences necessitate a separate discussion of local government in both places.

The Manchester in which municipal Chartism developed was characterised by bitter controversy and virtual administrative anarchy. On the one hand, the temper of local politics had not cooled over the twenty years since Peterloo. Some contemporaries – in particular, outsiders – were struck by the intensity and bitterness of local politics. Sir Charles Shaw, a native of Ayr in Scotland, who took command of the newly-created Manchester Police in October 1839, commented to the Home Secretary a

month later that 'local political disputes are carried on to extravagant excess'.[3] Stronger still were the views developed by another outsider, Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Napier, a native of Whitehall, London, who was appointed by Lord John Russell as Military Commander of the Northern district during 1839. In May 1841, after two years' observation, Napier felt compelled to warn the Home Office that power should not be returned to local hands:[4]

> The parties there are so violent that if either side gets this [police] force into its power, it will be more likely to create than suppress riots...I am well convinced that the peace of Manchester will be more safe in the keeping of a man free from all local interest; than in those of men who are leaders of violent factions.

Napier went on to stress to the Under-Secretary of State, Samuel Phillips, that nothing short of a 'Second Peterloo' might well result. The spectre of a second Peterloo was attributable to more than the lingering legacy of the first. The climate of 'extravagant excess' which so concerned Shaw and Napier was a direct result of the dispute between the local Whig-Liberals and Tories over the issue of granting Manchester a Charter of Incorporation under the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. This dispute polarised local affairs throughout the late 1830s and early 1840s and was often skilfully exploited by radicals and Chartists, who looked to the influence wielded by Daniel O'Connell's 'tail' in the House of Commons as a model of what could be achieved locally.

The rancour generated during the warfare over Incorporation cannot be underestimated: the *Northern Star* was not exaggerating when it stated in April 1839 that the 'Whigs and Tories of Manchester are almost at daggers point with each other'.[5] The dispute had catastrophic administrative consequences for the City. Although this often degenerated to the level of farce – the new Borough Councillors, for example, were locked out of the Town Hall by the Police Commissioners[6] – the situation was of serious concern to the national Government who, during early 1839, stepped in to ensure the maintenance of law and order by imposing a police system under the control of an outsider and responsible directly to the Home Secretary. This was a recognition of the fact that the administration of Manchester was hopelessly paralysed by the existence of competing authorities,[7] but the appointment of Sir Charles Shaw was intensely resented by all Mancunians and served only to exacerbate local tension.[8] For the Chartists it was nothing short of the introduction of the 'Code de la Gendarmerie', a 'Damnable Foreign Police System', a 'Bourbon Spy Police' – a fear which had deep roots in popular radicalism.[9]

Prior to the Incorporation of Manchester in October 1838, the local administration was a haphazard patchwork comprising elements of the parochial and manorial systems – Boroughreeve and Constables and Court Leet – together with a Police Commission created in 1792 and amended during the late 1820s.[10] The Municipal Corporations Act added to the confusion. While the legality of the Corporation was being thrashed out in the Courts, the institutions created by it – City Council and borough Magistrates – competed with their pre-existing rivals for local dominance. Municipal Chartism flourished in this climate of hostility. With few exceptions the Chartists broke with the pattern of cooperation with the Whig-radicals that had prevailed during the early 1830s[11] and sided with the Tory opponents of Incorporation, a fact which gave rise to vehement criticism of 'Tory-radicalism'.[12] The criticism did little justice to the radical position and provides little insight into why the majority of Chartists opposed the Incorporation of Manchester.

The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 cleared the legal obstacles preventing Manchester from applying for a Charter of Incorporation, but it was not until Richard Cobden printed and circulated some five thousand copies of a pamphlet entitled 'Incorporate Your Borough' in late 1837 that the matter was placed at the top of the local agenda. Part of Cobden's purpose in this public exercise, as he confided to William Tait, editor of *Taits' Edinburgh Magazine*, was 'gaining the [support of the] Radicals by showing the popular provisions of the Act'.[13] The pamphlet was generously interspersed with democratic language: 'the fundamental premises of the new [Municipal Corporations] Act are – the *household qualification*, and *an equality of suffrage*'.[14] Cobden was even more fulsome on the public platform; in February 1838 he stated that the Act 'guaranteed the democratic principle...[and]...was truly Republican in principle, and gave them annual parliaments, universal suffrage and vote by ballot'.[15] By this time, however, Cobden was encountering significant opposition from leading radicals including James Wroe, Edward Nightingale and Elijah Dixon whom he called 'low blackguards' and the Whig-liberal press branded as 'Tory-Radicals'. On the one hand the radicals were unconvinced by Cobden's claim: as James Wroe protested at the same meeting in February 1838, 'he had advocated democracy when Mr Cobden was in petticoats and he ought to know something about it; and this was no democracy'.[16] Figures circulated some months later by Nightingale which showed that, under the Charter of Incorporation, New Cross Ward would contain 9000 homes and only 427 electors seemed to bear out his scepticism.[17] On the other hand, the radicals did not find it difficult to be suspicious of the motives behind the proposals for reform.

As one historian has written, 'Wroe and his friends intuitively recognised what Cobden and his party sought to hide, that this was an attempt to re-inforce economic and social dominance with political authority.'[18] Well might Cobden's friend, Edward Watkin, claim that 'it was certainly not as a Whig or in sympathy with Whiggism that Cobden took the field', but this was a distinction that was lost on Cobden's radical opponents. As a radical anti-Incorporation poster made clear, a 'Cob-ling Whig' and his 'incorporate-your-borough-patriots' were not to be distinguished from the 'middle class Government', the 'mean, dirty, truckling, shuffling, false, treacherous, Malthusian, Poor Law Whigs', the employers of spies, the persecutors of trade unionists and the authors of the Irish Coercion Bill.[19] Regardless of the justice of these assertions, an understanding of the radical opposition to Incorporation must take account of them. One of the most lively opponents of Incorporation, Edward Nightingale, posed the rhetorical question as follows: 'Had not the Reform Bill proved a stepping stone to other things?' A similar case was easily mounted against Incorporation – it would lead to the introduction of the New Poor Law, the creation of a 'Bourbon Police', and result in the levy of 'new and oppressive taxation'. Part of the prophecy was soon fulfilled according to R. J. Richardson:[20]

> no sooner had Manchester the Charter [of Incorporation] thrust upon them against their will, and a Whig batch of magistrates created to obey the instructions of the Home Secretary, than the Poor Law Commissioners sent down their mandate to carry the law into effect.

It would be wrong, however, to infer that radical opposition to Incorporation represented a defence of the existing system. O'Connor noted on a visit to Manchester in September 1839: 'The people of Manchester could not but see local oppression; there was a £10 franchise for a parliamentary vote; and there was a £16 franchise for the appointment of a Commissioner of Police.'[21] From the outset, Wroe had led a campaign for an alternative to Incorporation in the form of a new Police Bill under which 'every payer of police rates [would] have the privilege of voting for Commissioners'. In fact Wroe (along with later champions of Incorporation such as Archibald Prentice) had led the opposition in 1828 and 1829 to the amendments to the Police Commission Act on the grounds of its restrictive franchise. Wroe felt justified in taking the moral high ground against Cobden.[22] For much of the first half of 1838 the battle over Incorporation raged, with radicals playing prominent roles on the hustings and in organising the collection of signatures for a petition against the granting of a Charter. The result of this latter exercise was a document

which boasted 31 947 signatures, well above the 11 830 appended to a rival petition in favour of Incorporation.[23] Despite the majority against Incorporation, even on revised figures, in August 1838 the Privy Council recommended that a Charter be granted and the election of a Borough Council was scheduled for December.[24]

At this point the tactics of the Tories and the Chartists diverged sharply: the Tories steadfastly refused to recognise the legality of the Incorporation and boycotted the election; the Chartists on the other hand geared up for a contest. From the outset the campaign was associated with organised Chartism in a way that demonstrates an interest in the struggles of local government which went beyond a few individuals to embrace rank-and-file Chartists, the majority of whom could neither stand nor vote. In September, at a meeting of the 'Radicals of Ancoats District', it was:[25]

> unanimously passed, that no persons should be supported as councilmen under the corporation, unless they had first been approved of by the political union.

In October local politics was a major topic of discussion at the MPU, and in December the Pollard Street Branch submitted the names of candidates to the MPU Council for endorsement.[26] The slate subjected to this form of electoral pre-selection included James Wroe, William Willis, John Brodie, William Grimshaw Seed[27] and James Redfern.[28] Given the Tory boycott, it is not surprising that these candidates were defeated.[29] A public dinner in the Abercrombie Tavern, Great Ancoats Street, following the elections was a thoroughly Chartist affair which was addressed by several well-known Chartists: Elijah Dixon, James Wroe, James Scholefield, Edward Nightingale, G. H. Smith and R. J. Richardson. This evening of reflection on the events of the previous weeks exposed the essentially working-class nature of the campaign. Nightingale reported that 'with only a few exceptions, he had no one above a labouring man to assist him in the canvass' – a recognition that was encapsulated in the second toast of the evening:[30]

> The working men who so nobly struggle in defence of local freedom, although cut off from those privileges to which they have every natural and constitutional right.

The third toast highlighted the extent to which Chartist aims had become enmeshed in the local political struggle. On this occasion the revellers drank to a municipal hybrid of the People's Charter:[31]

> Annual elections of municipal officers, ratepayers' suffrage, and no property qualification necessary for persons to be elected.

The unsuccessful municipal campaign in December 1838 was by no means the first radical foray into local electoral politics. Two months before the inaugural Council election, two of the defeated candidates, Brodie and Redfern, had successfully contested the annual Police Commission election in Number 1 District.[32] This victory was in keeping with a tradition which stemmed back to at least 1830 (see Table 4.1). As the table shows, over the dozen years between 1830 and 1842, men who developed close links with Chartism were elected or re-elected to the ranks of the Manchester Police Commission: James Wroe, Thomas Barrow,[33] James Scholefield, Abel Heywood, Edward Nightingale, William Willis, James Redfern, John Brodie and James Hampson.[34]

During the municipal and Police Commission elections of 1839 the nucleus of the campaign revolved around three bodies known as Radical Electors' Associations. These Associations – two in New Cross and one in Hulme – had been organised primarily to support the candidature of Colonel T. Perronet Thompson at a parliamentary by-election for the borough of Manchester in September that year.[35] As their name indicates, Radical Electors' Associations were designed ostensibly as a forum for qualified electors, although the basis of their outlook, as reflected in the campaign for the 'Chartist Colonel', was the demand for universal suffrage, and many of their leadership positions were filled by prominent Chartists, including Wroe, Scholefield, Willis, Brodie and Nightingale. The Radical Electors' Associations also campaigned for 'return of Police Commissioners who were opposed to Incorporation'.[36] In 1839 the radical candidates were Wroe and Scholefield, who ran as a team for both the Police Commission and the Borough Council in New Cross.[37] The 1839 Police Commission elections were of crucial importance in the on-going struggle for local supremacy. The pro-Incorporation forces had signalled their intention of silencing the opposition to the new Council emanating from the Commission by literally taking it over at the coming polls.[38] Pro- and anti-Incorporation campaigns were accordingly commenced in each district of the Commission. Although some disagreement had developed in the Chartist ranks – Abel Heywood stood successfully for re-election in Number 5 District on a pro-Incorporation list[39] – the weight of organised Chartism in Manchester was firmly behind Wroe and Scholefield, who formed part of the anti-Incorporation list in Number 1 District. Not surprisingly this rekindled howls of protest and condemnation over an 'unholy alliance' between Tories and 'Tory-Radicals', but again these were a shallow and misleading assessment of the radical stance.[40]

On the one hand, the Chartists were well aware of the potential political advantage to be gained from exploiting the rift between the Tories and the

Table 4.1 Chartists Elected to the Manchester Police Commission, 1830–42

Year	*District 1*	*District 5*	*District 7*	*District 13*
1830	James Wroe			
1831	James Hampson			
1832	John Brodie			
1833	James Scholefield			
	James Wroe			Thomas Barrow
1834	James Hampson			
1835	John Brodie			
1836	James Wroe	Abel Heywood		
1837	William Willis		Edward Nightingale	
1838	John Brodie			
	James Redfern			
1839	James Scholefield			
	James Wroe	Abel Heywood		
1840	James Hampson			
1841				
1842		Abel Heywood		

Whigs. In an era when parliamentary proceedings were extensively reported in the radical press, the influence of Daniel O'Connell's small Irish Repeal party in the House of Commons was almost legendary. At a Radical Electors' Association meeting in September, William Howarth, a Hulme radical, invoked the *modus operandi* of the patriarch of Irish politics and his small 'tail' of followers in the House as a model:[41]

> O'Connell, he observed, had the power of controlling the proceedings of the House of Commons by the influence of his tail, and he could not see why the radical electors of this borough should not have the same influence over the election of Manchester.

Over many years radicals had put the various institutions of local government – Vestry, Churchwardens, Leypayers' meetings – to good use as a platform for radical views. As part of an anti-Incorporation list Wroe and Scholefield stood a better chance of election, despite the narrowly restricted franchise. This opportunity to ensure the continuation of a radical voice in the Commission could not be lightly dismissed. The obvious flaw in the O'Connell model was, as Wroe explained in December 1840, a *rapprochement* between the major factions:[42]

> What I have for some time feared, has taken place; the tories have coalesced with the whigs for the purposes of preventing a public expression of opinion....

Largely for want of alternatives, however, the radicals persisted with this tactical approach; in 1842 they announced that 'we are about forming plans whereby we can have the balance of power at the forthcoming municipal elections'.[43]

Most importantly, however, Wroe and Scholefield wove the call for 'Universal Suffrage in *local* as well as General Government' into the fabric of their campaign.[44] Early in October their opening shot in the campaign was a pledge to be accountable for their conduct and to resign their positions 'at any time that a majority of the burgesses may require it'.[45] Later that month this pledge was elaborated at a public meeting in New Cross. As in 1838, they advocated extensive reform of the system of local government 'so that every ratepayer should have a vote in the election of Councillors'. They also incorporated a policy of municipal Chartism into a series of radical public commitments to their electors: not only would they resign if called upon by a majority, but also they would take up issues raised by their constituents in Council, and attend any constituent meeting to give explanations or receive instructions.[46] This commitment to a form of direct democracy was in keeping with the principle favoured in the

internal structure of Manchester Chartism. It went beyond the glib promises of political campaigning and set them glaringly apart from their Tory allies; it was an attempt to introduce a practical measure of fairness into a system they believed to be fundamentally inequitable.

Across the Irwell in Salford, the tradition of participation in local government was equally strong. Similar to that of Manchester during the early 1830s, the local government of Salford comprised elements of the parochial system (Vestry and Churchwardens), the Manorial system (Boroughreeve and Constables), and, from 1830, a Police Commission.[47] Up to the end of 1842 there were a number of prominent individuals who were active in various forums of local government and there was a collective involvement on the part of the Salford Chartists which led to the formulation and implementation of a policy of municipal Chartism.

Under the provisions of the Salford Police Act, the Salford Commission was elected by all ratepayers. This more liberal franchise resulted in the election of a slightly larger number of radicals than in Manchester. After 1835, when the Salford Commission assumed more duties and its local importance increased,[48] men who developed close connections with the Salford Chartists were elected or re-elected to its ranks on a regular basis (see Table 4.2). The Salford radicals were occasionally able to use the Town Hall for meetings – something their Manchester colleagues attempted in vain to achieve – and Sir Charles Shaw repeatedly expressed concerns about the administration of law and order beyond his jurisdiction in Salford.[49] But the radicals owed their influence mainly to an alliance with the local Tories in opposition to the introduction of the New Poor Law,[50] and their most important platform (until at least 1839) was not the Police Commission but the Select Vestry.

With the support of the Tories, in March 1838 R. J. Richardson, William Willis, Joseph W. Hodgetts,[51] Anyon Duxbury,[52] and Peter Gendall[53] were all elected to the twenty-man Select Vestry as 'sworn enemies of the new poor law', defeating the Whig-reformers who had dominated it for several years. According to the *Manchester Times*, apathy, poor attendance and resignations left the control of the 'remnant' of the organisation in the hands of 'REGINALDUS RICHARDSON' and his fellow radicals, but by the middle of 1838 the Tory majority had decided to introduce the New Poor Law.[54] This decision provoked vitriolic criticism from the Chartists and left the Tory-radical alliance in tatters. In March 1839 the Salford RA viewed 'with abhorrence':[55]

> the conduct of the base, treacherous, and dirty sham conservatives of Salford, who, while they are pretending to be firm friends of the people,

Table 4.2 Chartists Elected to the Salford Police Commission, 1835–42

Year	*District 1*	*District 2*	*District 3*	*District 4*	*District 5*
1835					
1836	Peter Gendall	Joseph Hodgetts			
1837					
1838	Anyon Duxbury			William Willis	
1839			Peter Gendall		Joseph Hodgetts
					R. J. Richardson
1840					
1841	Anyon Duxbury				
1842	R. J. Richardson	Peter Gendall			Joseph Hodgetts
					George Smith
					Thomas Galley

> are the only real destructives, as they have proved by taking office under the infernal whig starvation law....

It was also about this time that the Salford Chartists turned their collective attention to other forums of local government, including the Police Commission. Their declaration continued as follows:[56]

> this association pledges itself never to rest until the tories of Salford are placed once more under the control of the people.

During the early months of 1839 the RA devoted several meetings to local issues, the most important of which was to organise opposition to the Rating of Tenants Bill, an amendment that they said would 'rob the working people of their right to vote' by transferring the 'right of voting from all houses below nine pounds from the tenants to the landlords'.[57] By September the Salford RA had formally resolved to endeavour to return 'proper persons in the various offices of the borough' consisting of 'such men as shall do their utmost to manage the affairs of the township in a sound radical manner'.[58] The extent of this collective commitment was further evident when, early in October, the radicals published the *Declaration of Opinion of the Salford Radical Association*, the first point of which signalled that they would 'use every Constitutional effort in the affairs of the borough'.[59] The results were almost instantaneous. The Salford Police Commission elections later in October resulted in the election of R. J. Richardson and the re-election of two prominent RA members, Peter Gendall and Joseph Hodgetts. Within days of this victory the Chartists turned their attention to the Salford Court Leet where Richardson (unsuccessfully) proposed Hodgetts for the office of Boroughreeve and Gendall as a Constable. The following April the Chartists sought the election of Hodgetts, Richardson, Willis and Gendall to the office of Overseer, but again without success.[60]

Although the Salford Chartists succeeded in the re-election of Duxbury in 1841,[61] it was late in 1842, at the same time that the *Northern Star* was urging Chartists to emulate the Leeds effort, that they undertook their most determined campaign for the Police Commission. In one sense they were provoked into renewing their determination to 'crush the present system of misrule and oppression by every legal means in their power' at the local level. On a Sunday afternoon in September they had been '*turned out of their own room*!' in Great George Street by the Boroughreeve and Constables who had given 'no reason for such outrageous conduct'. When a deputation headed by Joseph Linney attended the Whig-dominated Commission to protest, they were denied a hearing.[62] It was with some

satisfaction then that the Salford Chartists boasted of the election of 'seven thoroughgoing democrats' a month later.[63] John Miller, the Secretary of the Salford Chartists who played an active role in local Salford politics,[64] reported for the *Northern Star*: on the first day of polling in Districts 1 to 4 'we got in, through a little exertion, four gentlemen who were for Universal Suffrage', including Richardson and Gendall.[65] The 'chief tug' as Miller put it, however, was on the second day of voting in the remaining districts. The Chartists nominated candidates in each contest with considerable success. The victorious Chartists included Joseph Hodgetts, George Smith and Thomas Galley.[66] Revenge for the September raid was exacted in Number 7 District when the Chartists, under the leadership of Thomas Rankin, Richard Littler and William Sumner, succeeded in displacing the Boroughreeve and leader of the Salford Whigs, William Lockett, from the Chair of the election meeting.[67] Copies of their election material published in the *Northern Star* show that this was more than simply a vendetta; as in the Manchester campaigns of 1838–39 it was a struggle for municipal Chartism. Working on the premise that local government should 'be made to consist of the people', the Salford Chartists' leaflet demanded a 'full extension of the suffrage in the election of Commissioners of Police' or more specifically 'a new Police Act, giving every male inhabitant of 21 years of age or upwards, a vote in the election of Commissioners of Police; and making the qualification for a Commissioner...the approval of a majority of votes'.[68]

Thus it is not surprising that the Chartists of Manchester and Salford became embroiled in the affairs of their immediate locality. As R. J. Richardson wrote in 1841, 'for many years we have been endeavouring to make men see the importance of looking after their local government'.[69] Many individual Chartists served their community with selflessness and assiduity: Wroe, for example, was a member of the Board of the Surveyor of Highways between 1838 and 1844 and he attended forty-nine or fifty of the 52 meetings held in each year; Heywood attended all 55 meetings of the Nuisance Committee between October 1841 and October 1842.[70] By virtue of the restrictive property qualification, the men who held local office were atypical of the Chartist population of Manchester and Salford. They tended to be lower middle-class in status – shopkeepers, tradesmen, small manufacturers or professionals. Some had risen from the ranks of the working class (including Wroe, Heywood, Willis, and Richardson) and others simply identified their interests with those of the labouring people who patronised their shop, surgery or chapel.[71] They had, in terms of E. P. Thompson's famous statement, made their choice between the 'two nations'.[72] The application of the principles of the People's Charter to

local government as occurred in both Manchester and Salford, however, took local struggles out of the hands of these relatively few privileged Chartists and put them in the collective care of the rank-and-file who could neither stand nor vote and, by so doing, made municipal Chartism an important aspect of the Chartist experience.

5 The League, Cheap Bread and the Irish

Amid the early-morning gloom of 2 June 1841, the final preparations were under way for an open-air ACLL meeting to be held later that day in Stevenson Square, Manchester.[1] Even at this early hour the die of confrontation was cast. During the previous few days 'bills in great profusion' had been posted on the walls, not only of Manchester, but of towns across south Lancashire summoning Chartists in 'countless thousands' to put down the 'humbug claptrap of the League'. For its part the League was also well prepared; its speakers list included the Mayor of Manchester, Sir Thomas Potter, and the most prominent national leader of the League, Richard Cobden. Also on the platform were to be Frederick Warren, President of the OACLA, and Father Daniel Hearne, the leading Catholic priest of Manchester's large Irish population. Anticipating interference from the Chartists, Cobden's lieutenant, Edward Watkin, had assembled what he called the Anti-Corn Law 'Police' – 'about a score of "boys" all ready for work' and armed with 'good blackthorn sticks'. By and large the Anti-Corn Law 'Police' were members of the Manchester Irish community.

Arriving at the Square shortly after 6.00 a.m., Watkin found a few Chartists already there, and 'cheek by jowl' with the hustings being assembled for the League meeting a platform for Chartist orators was under construction. By the time the League proceedings commenced at about 10.30 a.m. the crowd had built up to an estimated 20 000, densely packing the Square. A large group of Chartists occupied an area close to the League hustings, and no sooner did the speakers commence than they raised a number of flags and banners so as to obscure the view of the remainder of the crowd. Archibald Prentice, a League stalwart and historian, recalled 'One of a large size inscribed "Down with the Whigs"' which 'especially obscured the sight'. Other Chartist banners displayed equally provocative sentiments such as 'No New Poor Law'. Over the next few minutes a scene of extraordinary violence and tumult ensued which the *Northern Star* described as a 'Second Peterloo'. When the Chartists refused to remove the offending banners League supporters attempted to pull them down, but, according to Watkin, the Chartists 'immediately resisted' and 'showed their preparedness for a row by drawing forth short staves...which they began to lay about them'. Watkin's Anti-Corn Law

'Police' put their blackthorn sticks to good use in response. Thus Prentice's description of those being bludgeoned by the Chartists as 'unarmed' and innocent was as fanciful as the *Northern Star*'s claim that harmless protesters had been ruthlessly set upon by the League. The mêlée ended as abruptly as it had commenced, when the Chartists beat a retreat through the crowd and left the Square by Lever Street.

In the aftermath of 2 June, charges and counter-charges of 'brutal conduct' were exchanged with righteous indignation; flags and banners were repaired; and a few heads were bandaged. An event of notoriety at the time, this clash has set the tone for much of the historiography devoted to the relationship between the two great movements. Modern historians of Chartism have often portrayed the 'middle-class' ACLL and organised 'working-class' Chartism as divided by a chasm that was difficult to bridge. Repeated references to violent confrontations have tended to promote the view that in Manchester, the home of both movements, the relationship was characterised by a peculiar ferocity. David Jones, for example, mentions the cooperative agreements between Chartists and the League in a handful of towns, but in his only reference to Manchester he points to the 'bloody' confrontation in Stevenson Square in June 1841. Similarly, Edward Royle contrasts the background to Chartism at Birmingham and Manchester which in the latter precluded 'any brotherly co-operation between the Chartists and the League' and resulted in 'friction and mistrust' from 1839 to 1842. Donald Read quotes a disgruntled supporter of the League who had written to the *Manchester Guardian* in 1842 that since its inception the League 'have not had a meeting where the public were admitted, which has not been upset by the Chartists', to justify his emphatic statement that the agitation of the League 'added to the atmosphere of class difference in Lancashire'.[2]

The emphasis on violent confrontation, however, obscures the rank-and-file Chartist attitude to corn-law repeal. It also fails to account for the Irish dimension of the conflict or the role of the OACLA, and it offers no explanation of Watkin's admission that the crowd in Stevenson Square had been 'Chartists to a man'. There is a need then to return to the Square to linger over the *dramatis personae* with more care as a starting-point to a better understanding of the Chartists' attitude to repeal and their relationship with the Anti-Corn Law movement and the Manchester Irish community.

As their banners made clear, the Chartists sought to disrupt the proceedings of 'the Whigs'. It is important to work out what this meant in Manchester in 1841. First, it meant the owners of the hated factories, the 'hospitals of disease', that dominated the Manchester townscape; the 'blood

sucking, grasping, grinding tyrants', who advocated repeal of the corn laws as an article of faith in *laissez-faire* 'political economy'.[3] Feargus O'Connor hardly needed to remind the Chartists in 1843 that 'the League is composed of the owners of machinery'; as early as March 1839 Christopher Dean stated that the majority of Manchester working men saw through the 'deception' of the 'present movement on the question of the Corn Laws':[4]

> They never expect any act or desire on the part of the capitalists, who are living on the blood and vitals of the labouring classes, for bettering their condition....

The leaders of the League included many men of a considerable economic power. A glance around the table at the seventy or so members of the original provisional Committee of the Manchester Anti-Corn Law Association in 1838 reveals the President of the Chamber of Commerce, J. B. Smith, surrounded by mill-owners, manufacturers, merchants, brokers, bankers and lawyers. Some idea of the collective wealth of this group is gained from Prentice's claim that, by themselves, they contributed over £10 000 of the estimated quarter of a million pounds subsequently raised for the coffers of the League. The type of person the League sought to attract was evident from the fact that its Council was only open to those who had donated £50.[5]

Chartist opposition to the men of capital not only reflected years of economic struggle, but also a pattern of political conflict that stemmed back nearly a decade. Among the members of the provisional Anti-Corn Law Committee were men who held (or would come to hold) political power commensurate with their economic status: the first three Mayors of Manchester; three Boroughreeves and the first Mayor of Salford; numerous Aldermen, Councillors, Police Commissioners and Members of Parliament; several Justices of the Peace; a Magistrate; the owners and editors of two anti-Chartist newspapers and two of the hated Poor Law Guardians, including the Chairman of the Board.

Since the early 1830s the radicals had clashed with these men over practically every issue. As a self-styled 'Corn Law Repealer and Chartist' in Manchester observed:[6]

> It is passing strange that those persons who profess so great an anxiety to benefit the people by a repeal of the Corn Laws, invariably support the government, in their attacks on the few remaining liberties the people have left.

The two principal members of the League's platform party at Stevenson Square exemplify this point. At the time of the Reform Bill, Sir Thomas

Potter was believed by the working-class radicals to have been one of those to agree to support universal suffrage after the granting of reform and was loathed by the Chartists for what they saw as a betrayal of this commitment.[7] As for Richard Cobden, although historians have described him as an 'independent radical' and an 'outsider' of the Victorian political establishment,[8] this judgement was not shared by the Chartists. Cobden and his associates were the 'Cob-ling Whigs', indistinguishable from the 'Little Russell Whigs', the 'Melbourne Whigs', and the other 'mean, dirty, truckling, shuffling, false, treacherous, Malthusian, Poor Law Whigs'[9] in London. Liberal politics in Manchester was by no means as monolithic as the Chartists suggested. Cobden and his associates had worked hard to win over the Chamber of Commerce to the cause of free trade against the official policy of the Whig government. Justly or otherwise, however, the collective sins of the Government were laid at the door of the League headquarters in Newall's Building, Market Street.

The Chartists opposed the League as a manufacturers' pressure group led by 'whigs' and zealous advocates of 'political economy', but did they also oppose a repeal of the corn laws? The range of Chartist views is evident from the attitude of individuals who typified broader tendencies. At one extreme was Edward Curran, a member of the Brown Street branch. He saw repeal of the corn laws as desirable in itself. For many working-class radicals such as Curran, the 1815 Corn Laws were a manifestation of 'Old Corruption'. They buttressed the economic and political power of the aristocratic agricultural sector, imposed higher bread prices on the poor, and were the corollary to the burden of heavy taxation that funded the pensions and sinecures of the placemen and others the radicals called 'state paupers'. Curran was a devoted follower of Henry Hunt, and he recalled the days when the demand for cheap bread had taken its place alongside universal suffrage in the programme of postwar radicalism.[10] During the 1830s Curran was an official of the hand-loom weavers' union; his seven thousand members, he stated, were 'starving' and the demand for cheap bread was justified by the need to assuage their suffering. Openly disagreeing with other prominent Chartists, Curran was involved in the OACLA and also participated in proceedings organised by the League, most notably by appearing as a working-class spokesman during the National Conference of Nonconformist Ministers held in Manchester during August 1841. Not surprisingly he was criticised by his fellow Chartists and labelled 'a hired Whig'.[11]

At the other extreme from Curran was James Leach. From numerous platforms across the north of England Leach told audiences that current evils could be traced to the 'unrestricted use of machinery' and that the

League desired 'the extension of Cotton Bastilles' and wage reductions according to the principle that: 'As manufactories increased, the value of labour diminished.'[12] There was some foundation to this claim; the petition that Cobden had proposed to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in 1838 had called for 'free trade, by removing all existing obstacles to the unrestricted employment of industry and capital'.[13] Few Manchester Chartists viewed this prospect with anything but horror. By 1844, when he published his book *Stubborn Facts from the Factories*, Leach was confident enough in his economic theory to claim to 'have fully and fairly proved that it is *not* the Corn Laws that has [*sic*] brought ruin on the labourers and the farmers'.[14] During the early 1840s, however, Leach was equivocal regarding the retention of the corn monopoly. As one 'working man' wrote to the *Anti-Corn Law Circular* in October 1840, 'Mr Leach did not, during the whole evening, say one word as to whether the corn laws were a benefit or an evil; but denounced the master manufacturers'.[15]

Leach's colleague on the NCA Executive, John Campbell, echoed the warnings about more factories and less wages. In a lengthy treatise published in 1841, Campbell insisted that corn law repeal could bring 'wide spreading ruin, making us far more miserable than we are'. Wages would fall to Continental levels, and 'the most enslaving and degrading, the most revolting and accursed' system 'that ever existed', the factory system, would be extended 'wider and wider, further and further'.[16] But Campbell conceded that with 'accompanying measures' a repeal of the corn laws was desirable. He concluded his tract by arguing that the middle class should,[17]

> assist us to get universal suffrage, and thus secure the happiness of the millions; let them do this, and they may rest assured, that when the millions have the power to repeal the corn laws, they will do so; but do it after a fashion not to injure any part of the community, but to do justice to all.

The vast majority of the Manchester and Salford Chartists seem to have agreed with Campbell. Although they cheered Leach's attacks on the 'cottonocracy', they shared Curran's desire for a repeal of the corn laws, but only as part of a more comprehensive package of economic and political reform.[18] James Wroe was another Manchester Chartist who recalled the days 'when banners...bearing the inscriptions "No Corn Laws" and "Down with Monopolies" were as numerous as those bearing "Universal Suffrage" and "Hunt and Liberty"',[19] but, like many Chartists, he believed repeal of the corn laws would only be efficacious as part of a more extensive economic prescription. Wroe had learned his economics from the

pages of William Cobbett, and he argued that the repeal of *all* monopolies should occur alongside a reduction in revenue to the level of 1792 and be accompanied by the introduction of a tax on 'all real and funded property'.[20] The call for the repeal of all monopolies was evident in a poster published by James Wheeler (who had his 'skull cracked' at Stevenson Square), in early 1840:[21]

> CHARTISTS, your WHIG Friends have invited you to come and see them at the MANCHESTER TOWN HALL....ATTEND.... Let these men know that if it suits them to have a Repeal of the CORN LAWS, it will also suit you to have with it a repeal of the MALT TAX and the EXCISE DUTIES on all the necessaries of life....

Another Chartist who saw corn law repeal in a broader economic context was Mark Gradwell, who advised his fellow hand-loom weavers 'to petition for the repeal of the Corn Laws' but, mindful of the fact that there were 'other evils to contend against as well', they should also call for a 'tax on machinery'.[22] The contrast with Richard Cobden's vision of free trade is stark. Where Gradwell sought corn law repeal and a tax on machines, Cobden demanded that the trade in corn and machines be de-regulated. Where one saw the corn laws and the New Poor Law as an attack on the rights of the labouring population, the other justified repeal of the corn laws and the introduction of the New Poor Law from the same compendium of free-market economics.[23] In E. P. Thompson's terms it was moral economy versus political economy.[24]

Ultimately, however, the call for economic measures was scarcely audible alongside the demand for political reform which would provide a means to achieve a repeal of the corn laws and more. The belief in the capacity of universal suffrage to 'secure the happiness of the millions' (Campbell's words) was the cornerstone of Chartist ideology and characterised its relationship not only to corn-law repeal but to other single issues such as the opposition to the New Poor Law. As R. J. Richardson pleaded to a public meeting in early 1839:[25]

> they had sacrificed all for universal suffrage – they had ceased from the agitation of the infamous poor law system. They would not now agitate in that way to obtain a repeal of the corn laws, for were they not aware that a majority of the present members of parliament were opposed to the repeal of those laws[?] There could, therefore, be no hope to obtain from them a repeal of such laws; and what hope, he would ask, could they entertain of it, until they had a parliament of the people and out of the people...he strongly denounced any petition that would be proposed

> to the working men for the repeal of the corn laws instead of the concession of universal suffrage.

Universal suffrage not only provided the means but also the ultimate safeguard. As a self-styled 'Corn Law Repealer and Chartist' warned, working men could trust parliament only after they had been enfranchised:[26]

> The same parties who enacted the Corn Laws, might, if repealed, pass them again; and without a voice, you would be unable to record your protest against them.

The Chartists of Manchester and Salford were therefore typically people who supported the repeal of the corn laws, but as a corollary of reforming the political system – in the words of William Butterworth, after universal suffrage was granted 'the repeal of the corn laws would follow as a matter of course'.[27] Another Chartist, John Wildon, went further to argue that the Manchester Chartists were neither 'neutral' nor 'down right repealers':[28]

> we, the working men, are the only real and true repealers, not of the Corn Laws alone, but of every other bad law....

What the majority of the Manchester and Salford Chartists were doing was to make a distinction between the League as an organisation and the cause of corn law repeal. Useful though this distinction is, however, it does not explain everything that happened in the Stevenson Square fracas; by its very title the OACLA does not fit neatly into a sharp dichotomy between 'middle-class' and 'working-class' politics. Perhaps this is one reason why it has become a mere footnote in the history of the League. Prentice, for example, records the formation of the Operative Association in a perfunctory manner, referring only to 'outrageous conduct' on the part of 'working men' (Chartists) as an important motivation for enrolling them in a worthier cause.[29] Modern historians of the League offer little additional information. According to what has become the orthodox view, the League leadership and, in particular, Cobden, quickly grew tired of Chartist disruptions and determined to invoke the *lex talionis*; Cobden recruited the young and enthusiastic Edward Watkin, son of a wealthy League patron, and charged him with fashioning the OACLA into an instrument of protection and retribution.[30] In the end this account is unhelpful; although it accurately outlines the motivation behind the formation of a para-military body of working men known as Anti-Corn Law 'Police', it is important to distinguish this body from the Operative Association. The ranks of the Anti-Corn Law 'Police' were filled by notorious Irish 'lambs' such as 'Big Mick' McDonough and John 'prepare-to-

meet-your-God' Finnigan. These men, who battled with the Chartists in Stevenson Square, had been recruited in one fell swoop from among the Manchester Irish community. Thus it is necessary to explore the Irish dimension of the conflict and clarify the relationship between the League, the Manchester Irish community and the Chartists.

Ever since an ageing Richard Carlile complained in 1839 that he did not like 'the sound of these Irish O's in connection with the question of English reform',[31] the matter of the Irish involvement in Chartism has been controversial. One recent historian has gone so far as to predict that the on-going debate about it 'will surely develop into one of the most important controversies in nineteenth century labour history'.[32] The 1841 Census counted 34 300 Irish people in Manchester – approximately 10 per cent of the population.[33] The bulk of these immigrants were so poor that, for many observers, poverty and degradation were characteristics of the Irish community. As far as Engels was concerned: 'wherever a district is distinguished for especial filth and especial ruinousness, the explorer may safely count upon meeting chiefly Celtic faces'. Likewise J. P. Culverwell wrote that the Irish quarters in Manchester, known as New Town and Little Ireland, formed a 'nucleus for the generation and diffusion of human miasma'.[34] Historians too have pointed to the existence of Irish ghettoes in Manchester which had a geographic, socio-economic and cultural reality.[35] Contemporaries emphasised the homogeneity and discipline of this population. Doubtless this owed much to Catholicism; Father Daniel Hearne boasted that he had a flock of 20 000 within half a mile of his chapel in St George's Road and, according to Faucher, they 'are so strictly organised, that in the twinkling of an eye, one or two thousand can be collected at any given spot'.[36]

Faucher also recorded that in political terms the hearts of the Manchester Irish remained in the Emerald Isle:[37]

> The Irish are perpetually in a state of agitation. Often they assemble by hundreds at the corner of Oldham and Ancoats streets. One of their number reads in a loud voice the Irish news, the addresses of O'Connell, or the circulars of the [Irish Union] Repeal Association.

Through the pages of the *Weekly Freeman's Journal*, the organ of the Irish Union Repealers, it is possible to trace the outline of a powerful Manchester branch of the Loyal National (Irish) Repeal Association which numbered an estimated 5000 members by late 1840.[38] From the ranks of this branch came the notorious Irish 'lambs' who were involved in the violence at Stevenson Square. Gold as well as ideological conviction drew them there. The money came from the coffers of the League as a result of

an arrangement sanctioned by Cobden and Daniel O'Connell.[39] Like O'Connell, many of the 'lambs' supported Corn Law repeal, and there were many prominent figures among the local Irish Union repealers, such as John Finnigan, James Daly, John Kelly and William Duffy, who joined the OACLA; Father Hearne was one of the League's guests on the platform in Stevenson Square because of his tireless support for the cause of cheap bread.[40] But Watkin was never allowed to forget that his 'Police' were O'Connell's men first and foremost; in September 1841, for example, he could not proceed with a planned attack on the Chartists because Tim Duggan, O'Connell's lieutenant in Manchester, had not received authorisation from Dublin.[41]

Fortunately for the League, there was no such problem in Stevenson Square. According to the head of the Manchester Police, Sir Charles Shaw, in the days before the demonstration the 'whole Irish population' had been 'roused' by (fallacious) rumours that the Chartists planned to burn O'Connell and Hearne in effigy. Although the hand of an *agent provocateur* is possible, suspicion always ran high because the local Chartists had often censured O'Connell. From numerous platforms and in repeated public addresses he had been attacked as 'the great betrayer of his countrymen, the traducer of the [trade] Unionists, the abuser of the radicals...of England'.[42] 'O'Connellism' was sneered at as a 'system of get-what-you-can, bit-by-bit-Reform',[43] a reference to O'Connell's deals with the Whig Government as well as his cosy relationship with a range of middle-class reformers from Samuel Smiles of Leeds to Richard Cobden. In late May 1841, John Kelly, Secretary of the Manchester branch of the Irish Union Repealers, warned that 'wherever there is an attempt made to vilify, calumniate, or otherwise injure the sacred name of Daniel O'Connell Esq we are determined to attend and rebut such infamous charges'.[44] The actions of the 'lambs' in Stevenson Square a week later were a retaliation against Chartist 'insults' and, in more general terms, a manifestation of the long-standing feud between O'Connell and his former protégé, Feargus O'Connor. Implementing O'Connell's wishes T. M. Ray, General Secretary of the Loyal National Repeal Association, had entreated Irish Union Repealers 'against any species of connection with the Chartists' and warned them to 'exclude all known Chartists from their meetings' on pain of expulsion.[45] For his part, O'Connor emphasised his differences from O'Connell by invoking his direct links to the revolutionary tradition of the United Irishmen from whom he had even borrowed the title of the *Northern Star*.[46]

Although critical of O'Connell, the Manchester Chartists were far from hostile to the Irish cause. Cobbett's writings had softened English popular

attitudes to Catholicism and, since Henry Hunt's postwar campaigns for 'Universal Civil and Religious Liberty', Irish grievances had been firmly on the English radical agenda, particularly in the north.[47] Over this period the radicals of Manchester and Salford had been strongly sympathetic to the Irish cause[48] so that it was no accident that O'Connor chose a Manchester venue to announce, in October 1841, that 'henceforth he would go for the Repeal of the Irish Union along with the Charter'.[49]

Moreover O'Connell did not speak for all the Irish in Manchester and it would be a mistake to conclude that there was no Irish involvement in the Chartist movement there. Quantifying the precise level of Irish participation, however, is difficult; ethnicity cannot be accurately deduced from the written word and occasions when an individual might need to refer to his origins were infrequent.[50] Nevertheless, a considerable case can be developed. At the Chartist Convention in 1839 R. J. Richardson claimed to represent 30 000 Irish men and women living in the cotton capital of Britain. Although his claim was exaggerated, he was probably encouraged by the news that the MPU had established a branch 'in the very hotbed' of O'Connell's Irish Union Repealers in Little Ireland.[51] The 'real friends of Ireland' in the Ashley Lane branch were Catholic in more than one sense of the word; in addition to the Charter they were for:[52]

> repeal of the baleful union, for the repeal of the Corn Laws, for the abolition of Tithes, for the expulsion of the Bishops from the House of Lords. In fact we are for every practical measure that has any tendency to ameliorate the condition of the human family....

Peter Power and Patrick Flinn, the leading figures in this branch, were immigrant hand-loom weavers who were closely associated with the anti-corn law movement, but their champion was O'Connor not O'Connell.[53] Thus there is no reason to doubt O'Connor's claim that he had a good following among his countrymen in Manchester; in September 1841, after a parade into Manchester, he stated that his 'bodyguard' and much of the crowd that day had 'consisted almost exclusively of Irishmen'. In response to this comment the reporter of the *Northern Star* recorded that a 'forest of hands were held up, with the announcement "We're Irish, We're Irish"'.[54]

Carlile was correct to point out that the leadership of Chartism was in the hands of the 'Irish O's' – Feargus O'Connor and James Bronterre O'Brien. The same is true at lower levels of the movement. In May 1841 the Executive of the NCA, which numbered a Salford Irishman (Campbell) among its six members, argued that 'in England some of the best in the camp of liberty are Irishmen'.[55] At the end of 1841 when the Chartist branches of Manchester and Salford submitted a total of 41 names

of their respective executives for membership of the General Council of the NCA, at least seven (17.07 per cent) of these men were Irish-born.[56] Even this most conservative estimate suggests that the Irish were proportionately over-represented in the ranks of the local movement in a conurbation where the Irish constituted ten per cent of the population. This points to a division in the Irish community in Manchester and Salford, not over Chartism or Irish Repeal (or the repeal of the corn laws), but between loyalty to O'Connell and O'Connor.[57]

During the 1840s there was a growing disunity in the nationalist ranks in Ireland which culminated in 1847 with the formation of the Irish Confederation as a rival to O'Connell's Repeal Association. Paradoxically, division in Ireland had a unifying effect on the local immigrant community. During the winter of 1847–48 a network of Irish Confederate Clubs was formed in Manchester and Salford. Not surprisingly, they had strong links with the Chartists: a number of Irish Chartists (including John Murray, 'one of the heroes of '98', Daniel and Maurice Donovan and James Hoyle) were among the leaders and the local headquarters was a longstanding Chartist haunt in Great Ancoats Street.[58] Equally the Confederate Clubs provided a 'new career' for nationalists such as George Archdeacon, an immigrant labourer who had been expelled from O'Connell's Repeal Association for refusing to renounce violence (the issue which ultimately provoked the Young Irelanders to found the Confederation), and who now regarded O'Connor as his leader.[59] Following O'Connell's death in May 1847 and the decline in influence of his successors at Conciliation Hall, Dublin, a number of his staunchest supporters in Manchester were also attracted to the Confederate banner, including the principals of the Anti-Corn Law 'Police', John Finnigan and Michael McDonough.[60] The influx of new blood provided the movement with a significant fillip in the first half of 1848.[61] A formal alliance of the Chartist and Repeal causes took place with great theatre on St Patrick's Day, 17 March 1848, at the Free Trade Hall. Addressing the crowd in both English and Irish, O'Connor described the meeting as the fulfilment of the goal of unity that he had pursued since he commenced his career in English politics in 1835. O'Connor set the tone for the press (and subsequent historians) which referred to these events as the alliance of English Chartism and Irish nationalism, but the 'fraternisation' also marked a degree of unity within the immigrant community impossible a few years before.[62]

Between May 1841 and March 1842, however, Irish participation in the Anti-Corn Law 'Police' won the League a handful of brutal victories over the Manchester Chartists. Watkin would later boast that this was 'the true

story of how physical force was knocked on the head in the interests of a free platform'. In no respect, however, did these victories lead on to a similar triumph for Cobden's broader objective: the creation of a 'working class party of [Corn Law] repealers'.[63] The OACLA was a spectacular failure for the League. A first glance at the order of procession for the demonstration in Stevenson Square gives the impression of a flourishing Operative organisation with branches in Ardwick, Chorlton, Hulme and five other Manchester districts, but this was misleading. Watkin's diary confirms that most of these 'branches' had been formed as recently as May 1841 and that their banners and other paraphernalia had been purchased for them with League funds.[64] They were an unconvincing resurrection of an Operative Association that had collapsed over two years earlier. To explore the reasons for this failure is to shed light on the weakness that crippled all attempts to build a working-class constituency for the League. It is also a measure of the strength of the attraction Chartism had for the working people of Manchester and Salford.

The Manchester OACLA was formed early in 1839 and by April it was holding meetings twice a week in St John's Tavern, Old Church Yard.[65] The progress of the Association was steady although not significant enough to be widely reported.[66] Over the next few months the organisation sponsored lectures in various pubs and meeting rooms around Manchester and in July the *Anti-Corn Law Circular* reported the formation of a branch in New Islington. By October the executive announced that it had moved to a room in the hub of working-class activity, Carpenters' Hall.[67] The principal figures of the Association in these early days were its lecturer, James Howarth and its President, Frederick Warren. Their ideas show why the Association never became a reliable agency for recruiting working men to the League. Howarth was an 'operative' who had been President of the Salford Reform Association of the Working Classes (also known as the Salford WMA) during 1837. As President of this group Howarth declared that 'there was as great a necessity for reform of the reform bill...as there was for a reform of the old system in 1832'. He had also spoken against the Poor Law amendment.[68] Like many Chartists, Warren was a 'working man' of many causes. He had been politically active since the 1832 Reform Bill crisis and was a strong advocate of the freedom of the press and the Repeal of the Irish Union, a committed supporter of the peace and anti-slavery movements as well as a 'strenuous' opponent of the New Poor Law. In the pursuit of many of these causes Warren stood shoulder-to-shoulder with Chartists. He had consistently declared that he would 'never be content with anything less than the principles contained in the People's Charter' and in 1842, in the midst of a Chartist gathering,

he declared himself 'as sincere a Chartist as any amongst them'.[69] Howarth and Warren were typical of the organisation as a whole. A public declaration in January 1840 stated:[70]

> Fellow workmen, Thousands are perishing for want of bread. Millions are denied their rights....The Committee wish it to be understood that the Association has been established for one object...the repeal of the Corn Laws; but sympathising as we do with the distress and wrongs of the nation generally, and in order that no mistake may be made as to the views we entertain, we have determined it right and prudent to stand forth at this important crisis to demand justice and implore mercy.

Justice in this context meant granting working-class people their political rights; mercy was sought for the Chartist prisoners facing the death penalty for insurrection in Newport the previous year. The OACLA failed to develop into the 'working class party of [corn law] repealers' that Cobden sought, because the constituency it courted was, as Edward Watkin recognised, 'Chartists to a man'; not necessarily card-carrying members of the NCA, but people who fervently supported universal suffrage. They had little in common with Cobden and his associates at the Chamber of Commerce.[71]

The Chartists found it easy to exploit the difference between the OACLA and its patrons in the League, the manufacturers' pressure group. The Chartist tactic involved moving amendments that offered the Operative Association common cause on a broad radical agenda that was likely to offend moderate middle-class liberals as well as being unwelcome to those in the League hierarchy, such as Cobden, who were determined to keep the issue of corn law repeal separate from other questions. In December 1839, for example, Joseph Linney moved a provocative amendment at a League meeting which did not seek to displace corn law repeal, but rather to add that if the Government 'did not accede to the wishes of the people of Manchester' they would cease to recognise the authority of the Government over them. Later in February 1840 Scholefield employed the same tactic at a corn-law function by raising the issue of the New Poor Law.[72] By March 1840 the OACLA seemed to be at the point of crisis. At a public meeting of the Association Warren outlined a policy designed to steer a course through the dilemma:[73]

> He was requested by the body with whom he was connected to say, that they were advocates for every measure that was calculated to improve the condition of the working classes. They were strenuous advocates for a full and fair representation of the people, and decidedly opposed to the

> principles of the New Poor Law Bill; but they would not throw overboard any person who was a useful advocate of [corn law] repeal, though he might not be opposed to the poor law or any other particular measure.

The success or otherwise of this policy was to become evident in a matter of weeks. In early April a rank-and-file Chartist, John Wildon, wrote to the *Northern Star* to claim victory for the Chartist strategy over the League and 'their tools', the Operative Association – 'they could not get a meeting in any part of the town but for the Chartists, and the least allusion to the Charter is quite sufficient to dampen their proceedings'.[74] Wildon went on to claim that the ranks of the OACLA had dwindled to ten despite ongoing financial support from the coffers of the League.

Wildon was right to sense victory. During April 1840 a series of joint meetings between the OACLA and the Chartists occurred in the Chartist rooms in Whittle Street. At the third of these meetings Leach moved a resolution that was carried 'nearly unanimously', condemning the 'middle class agitation' for corn law repeal as an attempt to 'promote the selfish ends of moneyed interests'; while the middle class 'denounce the landlords as robbers, and accuse them of filching away one half of the poor man's loaf, they, nevertheless, invariably take part with the robbers against the parties robbed, in all other questions affecting our rights and liberties'. If the carriage of this motion was surprising, the next stage of the proceeding was startling:[75]

> It was then moved by Mr. Smith [a Hulme Chartist], and seconded by Mr. Warren, president of the [Operative] Anti-Corn Law Society, 'That a deputation from the different branches of the Manchester and Salford chartist societies, to meet deputies from the [Operative] Anti-Corn Law Society, in order to devise the best means to make the people's charter the law of the land.' This resolution was carried unanimously.

This report was tucked away in the pages of the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, and its significance has been lost; Warren had temporarily capitulated to the Chartists. At least one further joint meeting took place, but the promised joint campaign did not emerge. The *Northern Star* had to content itself with crowing over the 'unpopularity of the leaders of the Anti-Corn Law League, most of them having done all they could possibly do to put down the movement for universal suffrage'.[76] At the next scheduled joint meeting the delegates from the OACLA failed to attend. The Chartists profited from the dwindling support for the Operative Association. In mid-1840, David Ross, a prominent working-class

advocate of corn law repeal, met James Leach in public debates in Manchester. Not only was he defeated by popular verdict, he was entirely converted, emerging as a prominent NCA lecturer. According to his own account, after his defeat Ross had gone back to the Anti-Monopoly Association, of which he was vice-President, and moved that they all join the NCA and he, 'with several others joined the NCA on the following Sunday'.[77]

Almost a year after the capitulation of the OACLA the impact was still being felt by those seeking to establish a working-class constituency for the League. In March 1841, for example, Warren and Watkin became involved in a public lecture by Peter McDouall at Carpenters' Hall. Before Warren had made more than a few remarks he was reminded by a Chartist, John Bailey,[78]

> of the agreement, which was made at the dissolution of the Operative Association, that subsequently they would go for nothing less than the Charter, but this had not been followed out because some of the parties were paid by the League.

According to the historian of the League, Norman McCord, Watkin had spent most of 1840 and early 1841 'working at the task of organising' (re-organising) the OACLA. He does not seem to have achieved much; a dinner in October 1840 attracted a paltry 40 of whom 17 were described as 'prospective' members.[79] By the time of the Stevenson Square fracas in June 1841 he had built up an organisation, but it was of recent formation. Over the six months from September 1841 to March 1842 the OACLA sponsored 38 lectures by Finnigan, five public meetings and two dinners, but by this time their finances had sunk to a parlous state.[80] In April, Watkin complained to Cobden that the Association had accumulated over £40 of debts largely because they had 'not received a farthing in subscription or donation' for some months.[81]

The clearest evidence that Watkin's efforts to revive the OACLA had come to little was the emergence late in 1841 of a new organisation, the Daily Bread Society, which was advertised as 'the best mode of obtaining the repeal of the food taxes as the road to the PEOPLE'S CHARTER or something better…'. This shift in tactics came at a time when Cobden and Watkin were also musing over the possibility of establishing an alternative universal-suffrage newspaper which would serve the League's interests by deprecating 'the insane course of those who oppose the Corn Law Repealers'. It hardly needed the *Northern Star* editorial to describe the Daily Bread Society as 'a palpable ruse' for it to fail; its first well-publicised

meeting attracted a mere 150 and at the second equally well-advertised event the 'doors did not open'.[82]

A further twist in the campaign to create a 'working class party of [corn law] repealers' came during the winter of 1841–42. In January Cobden wrote to Watkin, urging him to attempt to 'draw out the trades' of Manchester on the corn law question. This idea had been explored by the OACLA in a series of meetings late in October and November 1841 that culminated in the decision to call a Working Man's Conference of deputies from 'trades', 'mills' and 'Associations' on New Year's Day 1842 at the League headquarters in Newall's Buildings.[83] Any claim that this Conference was representative must be regarded as dubious – the 18-man Manchester and Salford contingent included Watkin, son of a wealthy businessman, a manager, an overlooker, a clerk, an agent and two printers as well as Finnigan, originally a weaver, but by this time a full-time League official. In fact the complement of working men was almost doubled when a deputation of six from the engineering trades headed by Alexander Hutchinson, an Owenite and Chartist, arrived during the proceedings.[84] The Conference ended inconclusively, and it was only after Cobden's letter that Watkin (with the aid of Hutchinson) called a meeting of the 'Trades and other Public bodies' which was held at the Hop Pole Inn in March. From Watkin's point of view the whole exercise proved to be an abject failure. As was discussed in a previous chapter, the influence of the Chartists saw the proposed demonstration in favour of corn law repeal rejected by an emphatic majority and a Chartist rally planned instead.[85]

In February 1842, Cobden conceded that the agitation against the corn laws had been 'eminently middle class' in composition, but this obscured the effort that had been expended since 1839 in attempting to build a 'working class party of [corn law] repealers'.[86] The Chartists had rebuffed the advocates of corn law repeal in predominantly working-class public forums, and they had sown the seeds of discord within the ranks of the League. At about the same time that Cobden made his admission, a meeting of 'Merchants, Tradesmen and Working Men' was called at the Manchester Town Hall. A handbill published by Abel Heywood indicated the Chartist preparedness; the meeting would 'demand total and immediate repeal of all laws which interfere with the free and unlimited importation of food and that the franchise be extended to every man of 21 years'. According to the *Northern Star* the meeting was 'addressed by a number of middle-class and working men, every one acknowledging universal suffrage was a right which ought to be given to the people'.[87] In his report to

the Home Office, Shaw anticipated the division that this would cause among the ranks of the League:[88]

> I am sure that this 'Universal Suffrage' question being tacked on to the Corn Law Repeal has given great umbrage and annoyance to some of the most respectable Gentlemen who were Great Movers in the agitation…I look upon this day as having caused a great and serious '*split*' among them who have for years gone together….[emphasis original]

In response to Watkin's report of this meeting, Cobden replied: 'I have no objection to our members turning Chartists, but we must not turn the League into a suffrage party…'.[89] A month later, at a meeting of a League-sponsored group known as the Young Man's Anti-Monopoly Association, Richard Gardner and J. E. Nelson successfully moved that opposition to 'the monopoly of the Suffrage' was within the objects of the Association. In the same month a prominent League stalwart, John Brooks, who had stood alongside Cobden on the platform at Stevenson Square, used a speech to the Chamber of Commerce to declare for universal suffrage.[90]

Cobden had good reason to be concerned over League members 'turning Chartists'. In June 1842 a meeting of shopkeepers was called to discuss repeal. Watkin went to considerable lengths to ensure that it was a ticket-only affair, to forestall the inevitable Chartist involvement but he failed, and the Chartists gained admission. As Watkin informed Cobden in a dejected letter, 'the affair ended in Corn Law Repeal and the Charter being put cheek by jowl in a resolution moved by a Chartist and seconded by a shopkeeper. This was carried unanimously.' Watkin went on to reflect that the 'suffrage movement has damaged us much…. The radicals who went with us before, now have joined the Charter Association.' Many of the faithful 'now give very lukewarm support'; 'now nearly all become Chartists'.[91] Absent here is any trace of the smugness that characterised Watkin's memoirs; instead we are shown despair and defeat. It was, in fact, the Chartists' turn for paeans of triumph – as Campbell told an audience at Carpenters' Hall, he was glad to hear of imminent League public meetings because Chartist principles prevailed.[92]

Into this equation came the Complete Suffrage Movement inspired by Birmingham corn-magnate and philanthropist, Joseph Sturge. The Manchester branch of the NCSU was founded in June 1842 and took rooms in Brown Street, the location of one of the strongest Chartist branches. But this was about as near to a connection with the Chartists as was ever established. Complete Suffrage failed to excite much working-class interest in Manchester and Salford; out of a general committee of over fifty Heywood was the solitary Chartist.[93] For all that Cobden was in

'two minds' about Sturge's scheme,[94] in Manchester the NCSU provided an important outlet which gave League members who supported universal suffrage an alternative to joining the ranks of Chartism.

The flow was not entirely stemmed. In July 1842 James Hampson, 'an extensive grocer' in Great Ancoats Street, and a foundation member of the provisional committee of the Manchester Anti-Corn Law Association in 1838, opted to join the ranks of the Manchester NCA.[95] This was also the case with the Reverend Dr Robert Halley. A Congregational Minister, Halley had come to Manchester to administer a Chapel in Mosely Street in 1839. As a supporter of the League, his credentials were impeccable; at the national conference of Nonconformist Ministers sponsored by the League in mid-1841, Halley was given the honour of moving the motion in favour of corn law repeal. But Halley was also a political radical. At the time of the Reform Bill crisis, he was a 'great admirer' of the leading Whig, Lord John Russell, assisting him in the canvass in the Huntingtonshire electorate. After Reform, Halley became a strong supporter of his local MPs, the Whig John Cam Hobhouse and the radical Thomas Duncombe. In 1842 Halley became a regular visitor to Chartist gatherings at Carpenters' Hall; this earned him the accolade of 'the true democrat' from 'England's Marat', George Julian Harney.[96]

When the young Edward Watkin admitted that the predominantly working-class crowd at Stevenson Square in June 1841 had been 'Chartists to a man' he provided the key to unlock the episode. On that morning a group of Chartists arrived armed with brickbats and bent on tactics which over the previous two years, in R. G. Gammage's words, had driven the League 'into holes and corners'.[97] The objects of their attack were among the platform party, men they hated and mistrusted as their social, political and economic opponents, the 'Cob-ling Whigs', the 'progeny of Mammon'. The Chartists were not, however, typically men who favoured a retention of the corn laws; many had marched with Henry Hunt in 1819 and 1831 under the banner of 'Cheap Bread' when, as Bamford pointed out, it was 'dangerous and disreputable…to do so'.[98] By 1841 they simply would not entrust the cause of cheap bread to the hands of the advocates of free trade. Stevenson Square was one of the first instances when the League responded to violence in kind. We have seen, however, that the Anti-Corn Law 'Police' who provided the means of retribution were involved largely as a result of a split in the Manchester Irish community which can only be understood in the wider context of the feud between O'Connell and O'Connor. In the end the emphasis on violent confrontation is distorting; the Chartists successfully met the challenge of the OACLA by offering them common cause. The attempt to build a

'working class party of [corn law] repealers' foundered because the target group among the Manchester and Salford working class were, for all practical purposes, 'Chartists to a man'. As the perennial London reformer, Francis Place, advised Cobden in 1839: 'almost every working man who has ever thought upon the subject might be said to be a Chartist'.[99]

6 New Moral Worlds – Co-operation, Owenism and Radical Christianity

When G. J. Holyoake wrote his history of co–operation in 1875 he saw his subject as one that was divided into two periods: a flourish of formative activity from 1828 to 1834 and, following a ten-year hiatus, the continuous history of the movement proceeding onwards and upwards from the time the famous Rochdale pioneers began trading in 1844. These parameters have informed much subsequent work, as can be seen by Beatrice Webb's conclusion that after the collapse in 1834 the threads of the movement were picked up a 'generation later' by the second co-operative movement.[1] The difficulty with this approach is that it fails to take account of the co-operative endeavours which flourished in the late 1830s and early 1840s under the banner of Chartism. This omission is the more surprising given that the later history of the co-operative movement and Chartism are inextricably linked by more than the simple fact that the Rochdale pioneers were themselves Chartists. In 1920, at the height of the co-operative movement, one Chartist historian went as far as to refer to the foundation of the Rochdale society as 'the humble birth of the most prodigious child of the Chartist movement'.[2] Despite this claim the activities of a lost generation of Chartist co-operators have attracted little attention from historians.[3]

This chapter commences by attempting to rescue the Chartist co-operatives of Manchester and Salford; it will proceed to examine the broader relationship between the Chartist movement and Owenite socialism and set this in contrast with a local co-operative experiment that grew from a vision of radical Christianity. In 1851 the national Census of Religious Worship showed that in Manchester a mere 12.6 per cent of the population attended the Church of England and only a further 19.0 per cent were non-Anglican churchgoers. The same was true of large cities in general.[4] Edward Royle has suggested that the 'paradox' about any description of the non-attending majority identified by the Census enumerators is that 'next to their infidelity, the most common feature about them was their religiosity'.[5] The Chartists discussed in this chapter – co-operators, socialists and radical Christians – were among the 68.4 per cent of people in Manchester and Salford for

whom the churches had no place in their lives. Their abandonment of the churches was symptomatic of a wider rejection of the 'old immoral world'. They were engaged in building their own versions of the 'new moral world' and as such they exemplify both sides of Royle's paradox. The traditions of Owenite secularism and religious radicalism shared many common ideas, aspirations and personnel;[6] most importantly, however, the utopian socialist and the millenarian radical both subscribed to what J. F. C. Harrison has described as an 'ideology of social change'.[7]

For some Chartists, the place to start building the 'new moral world' was behind a shop-counter. Beginning in the winter of 1839 the Chartists of Manchester and Salford embarked upon a number of co-operative enterprises. A report in October 1839 indicated that the branch of O'Connor's Northern Union in East Manchester was forming a co-operative store. A mere six months later a further report noted the 'spirited' operation of 'several' stores. By mid-1840 there were five stores in operation: East Manchester; Whittle Street; St Steven's Street, Salford; Deansgate; and 32 Clarendon Street, Chorlton, where the Chartists of West Manchester had established the Hulme and Chorlton Joint Stock Provision Company.[8] Manchester and Salford was a region where the roots of the co-operative movement ran deep, and undoubtedly many of these Chartist enterprises represented the fruit of seeds sown by the local Co-operative Council in the early 1830s. In May 1830 there had been 11 co-operative stores in Manchester and Salford, and a year later, when the First National Co-operative Congress was held in the city, this had grown to 16. Many of these societies proved to be ephemeral and by the end of 1832 only three or four stores remained.[9] Those that did trade on into the 1830s had a geographic distribution similar to that of the later Chartist stores.

The Chartist stores were operated according to a basic model that had been sketched out over a decade before. The East Manchester Store, established in Travis Street close to the Chartist Rooms in Brown Street, was financed by shares in ten- and twenty-shilling lots, paid for in small weekly instalments, with no individual allowed to own more than 40s. worth. The Chartists resolved:

> to raise a fund for the truly philanthropic purpose of enabling the working man to lay out his little money in purchasing his provisions of the best quality, and at a lower price than could be obtained under the old system of competition....

In Deansgate the 'promoters' stated that 'their only object in opening the store' was 'to enable the members of their own body to obtain the necessaries of life at prime cost'.[10]

In some cases the store was not successful, and in others it was not appropriate to local needs. After a year of operating in Salford, for example, the Chartists decided to close the store. But co-operation among the Salford Chartists did not founder as a result; it flourished. In March 1841 they developed a 'plan of practical co-operation'. This involved a weekly meeting at Mr Price's in Coburg Street at which the 'parties club their money and go and buy flour, bacon, potatoes &c wholesale'. The savings that resulted were claimed to be as much as '2d on the dozen of flour, 2d on the pound of bacon, 1d per pound on candles, 2d per score on potatoes, and on other articles in like manner'. The aims of the co-operators amounted to more than saving the odd penny:

> our friends go beyond the mere distribution of wealth among themselves, they are also, as far as practicable, carrying out the operative production of it themselves, by employing each other. Messrs. Millington and Yates have been appointed shoemakers, Mr. Roberts, clockmaker, and Mr. Campbell, newsvendor to the Salford Chartists. This is the way to bring the shopocracy to their senses.

This scheme was continued into 1842 and, although it appears to have lapsed for a time, it was recommenced in earnest in November 1842.[11]

In other cases the store proved to be a successful model. So strong was the demand that, six months after opening their store at 32 Clarendon Street, the Chartists of West Manchester moved to larger premises a few doors down Clarendon Street, and a month later established a second store in Melbourne Street, Hulme. The defiant announcement of the opening of the second store conveyed a stern warning to retail shopkeepers:[12]

> We are determined to make the shopkeepers of...[Hulme] sell their bread at the same price as we have made them in Chorlton....Working men, come forward and assist us in keeping down the profitmongers.

These claims were not uncommon. In April 1841, for example, the Salford Chartists stated that 'some families save as much as fourteen pence per week' as a result of their co-operative endeavours. The Chartists of Newton Heath on the outskirts of Manchester who had commenced a joint stock provision store early in 1842 began butchering their own beef and mutton:[13]

> which has not only paid them good interest for their money, but has brought down the price of meat to the whole of the inhabitants one penny per pound.

Apart from a warning to beware of 'jobbing and self-interest friends', the Chartist press were quick to declare co-operatives to be 'a powerful

accelerator of the public good'.[14] By 1851 co-operative trading was so central to the agenda pursued by the Manchester Chartists that some critics accused them of attempting to turn Chartism into a 'universal organisation of meal tubs' by tacking a 'grocery business to it'.[15]

The Chartist co-operative enterprises bear testimony to the influence of the ideas and involvement of the followers of Robert Owen. Owenites had played an important role in several of the early co-operative stores including the umbrella organisation, the Manchester and Salford Association for the Promotion of Co-operative Knowledge which had been formed in April 1830.[16] Despite initial coolness from Owen himself, co-operatives came to be regarded by many Owenites as a useful stepping-stone to the creation of the 'new moral world'.[17] Unfortunately a proper examination of the relationship between the Owenites and the Chartists at the local level is hampered by the attitude of some contemporary officials. As early as 1837 the editor of the principal journal of the Owenites, the *New Moral World*, described universal suffrage as a 'quack medicine' which '*does not* produce universal happiness'; the corollary of this ideological broadside was the emphatic public statement two years later by James Lowe, a leading Manchester Owenite official, that the Chartists were 'a party with whom we have no connection'.[18] The reality was very different.

In the words of one Owenite newspaper, the *Social Pioneer*, the Manchester and Salford area was 'the great centre' of the socialist movement. In May 1840 Robert Buchanan, the Manchester 'Social Missionary', reported to a national conference of the Owenite organisation, the Association of All Classes of All Nations, that there were 'at least' 10 000 local socialists not including Salford which was itself an Owenite stronghold.[19] The strength of the local organisation was reflected in the construction of the Hall of Science between August 1839 and May 1840. This building in Tonman Street, Campfield, was raised entirely with the 'hard earnings' of an estimated 800 shareholders.[20] Many of these were Chartists.

A number of key individuals can be identified who were simultaneously Owenites and Chartists. Abel Heywood had been Secretary of a Manchester Co-operative in 1830 and was a devoted follower of Robert Owen, even naming one of his children after him.[21] Alexander Hutchinson, a member of the NCA General Council and a prominent trade unionist, was described in the *New Moral World* as a valued member of the Salford Socialists.[22] James Henry Stansfield, who along with Heywood had been a foundation member of the HMC earlier in the 1830s and was actively involved in the Chartist National Victim Fund, was Secretary of 'Number 34' branch, one of the three Owenite branches in Manchester

and Salford.[23] Isaac Higginbottom, one of the trustees of the Hall of Science and a long-standing Owenite, had also been a member of the HMC and went on to be a fervent supporter of Hunt's successor, Feargus O'Connor.[24] Another NCA General Councillor, James Cooper, who was the elder brother of an Owenite Social Missionary and noted secularist, Robert Cooper, was a prominent local socialist in his own right and his newsagency in Bridge Street was advertised as carrying both the *New Moral World* and the *Northern Star*.[25] Reference has been made in an earlier chapter to the fact that James and Robert Cooper were exposed to 'advanced views' on theology and politics as young boys.[26] Something of the rich tradition that James brought to the Chartist ranks can be gleaned from an inventory of the writers and activists discussed in his father's sitting-room: political radicals from John Horne Tooke and Henry Brougham to Major Cartwright, William Cobbett and Henry Hunt; the standard sceptics, Voltaire and Paine; the infidel Richard Carlile and the secularist Robert Owen as well as George Coombe, the renowned phrenologist, whose *Constitution of Man*, first published in 1828, became a 'handbook of natural religion'.[27] Veterans of the early co-operative movement such as James Cooper became important conduits of socialist ideas. Their influence can be seen in activities ranging from Cooper lecturing to the Chartists on the 'importance, necessity and practicality of co-operation' to Heywood selling shares in the London Road Co-operative store.[28]

Recent historians have pointed to the difficulties that arose in the socialist movement because the authority structure dictated by Owen's essentially patriarchal role as 'Social Father' did not sit comfortably with the democratic sentiments held by many Owenites. In a reference to Manchester, Eileen Yeo has written that the Owenites 'jealously safeguarded working class democracy and participation in their local branches'.[29] This attitude was reflected in the way that the Salford Socialists employed the Chartist practice of issuing instructions to the delegates they sent to Owenite national congresses.[30] That tensions over internal democratic rights existed in Manchester and Salford is hardly surprising given that the local leadership of the Owenites, almost to a man, had strong Chartist connections. In his major study, J. F. C. Harrison identified a coterie of able young leaders in Manchester and Salford that emerged in the late 1820s and early 1830s and went on to play important roles as Social Missionaries and Communitarians: E. T. Craig, James Rigby, Patrick Lloyd Jones, Robert Cooper, and James Hole.[31] Of these, Lloyd Jones was known to support radical political reform as was Cooper, and E. T. Craig was remembered late in life as 'an Old Chartist and Co-operator'.[32]

For other Owenite officials who either hailed from Manchester or Salford or served the movement in the area the story is the same. Charles Haslam, who gained national notoriety when the publishers of his *Letters to the Clergy of All Denominations* (notably Abel Heywood and Henry Hetherington, a London Chartist) were prosecuted for blasphemy, was also a foundation member of the HMC, Secretary of the Manchester RA during 1836, a vehement opponent of the New Poor Law and an active Chartist. Another original member of the HMC, Joseph Smith, had been a pioneer co-operator in the early 1830s and later an Owenite delegate and hall-keeper at the Hall of Science. Smith was reputed to have unhorsed one of the hated Yeomanry Cavalry at Peterloo and worked as a Chartist 'courier' for Heywood before emigrating to North America in 1842.[33] John Watts, an Owenite lecturer in Manchester, became an active Chartist in 1848 while Alexander Campbell and Robert Buchanan, two Scottish Owenites who served appointments as Social Missionaries in Manchester, also exhibited Chartist sympathies. According to a report in the *Northern Star* in March 1841, Buchanan gave a public speech characterised 'by a bold and manly defence of the rights of the labourer to good food, good clothing, good lodgings, and above all, to the right of representation as a means of securing him their possession'. This was a long way from Owen's well-known disdain for the 'illusion' of radical democratic politics. Buchanan advocated a union of the socialist and Chartist causes and pleaded this case with the Tib Street Chartists. In February 1841 he left no doubt about his sympathies when he gave a 'phantasmagoria' (magic lantern) exhibition at the Tib Street Chartist rooms as a fund-raiser for the wives and families of the imprisoned Chartists.[34]

Given this degree of overlapping personnel it is not surprising that there was also some interaction between the local Chartists and Owenites at an organisational level. In June 1839, for example, the Ashley Lane Branch of the MPU was formed in 'the large room occupied by the Socialists of that district'. Similarly the Hall of Science Building Association was located at 220 Deansgate which was also the premises where Tom Paine Carlile produced his newspaper, the *Regenerator and Chartist Circular*.[35] The two organisations also cooperated over issues of mutual concern. When the ACLL organised a national conference of ministers of religion in August 1841, but denied entry to Owenites (such as Campbell and Buchanan) who were licensed as Nonconformist Ministers of Rational Religion, and several Chartist Preachers (including Arthur O'Neill of Birmingham and William Hill, editor of the *Northern Star*), a joint committee was formed to convene an alternative conference which people could attend 'without respect to class, creed, religion or politics'.[36] As

might be expected neat labels are not easily applied to the membership of this steering committee. Along with Alexander Campbell and Robert Buchanan were J. H. Stansfield, James Cooper, the Reverend William Jackson, a Chartist and former Methodist minister who had preached the occasional 'social lecture' at the headquarters of the Salford Socialists, and Andrew Melville, a Hulme Chartist and foundation member of the HMC.[37] The overlap and interaction between the two movements was most evident in October 1841 when the Manchester Owenites provided tea for Feargus O'Connor and about 1500 'Chartist friends' at the Hall of Science. The *Manchester Times* reported that a great many of the men and women who sat down to tea that day were in fact socialists, and undoubtedly many were.[38]

There was a section of the Chartist population, however, which could not be Owenites. In her study of Owenism, Barbara Taylor has rightly emphasised the 'ideological purity' of Owenism, pointing out that Owenites could move freely into Chartism by declaring their support for the Six Points, but that a Chartist could only become an Owenite by accepting 'the entire doctrinal package' on offer.[39] In Manchester and Salford the element in the package which constituted a stumbling block for many people was the Owenite attitude to Christian religion. Elijah Dixon would have spoken for many Manchester and Salford Chartists when he stated that 'he was not a socialist of Mr Haslam's or Mr Owen's school. He placed more value on his Bible than to burn it as Mr Haslam had recommended.'[40]

Dixon's attachment to his Bible did not lessen his hostility towards institutional religion, especially the Church of England. In this way he was thoroughly typical of the Chartists of Manchester and Salford, Christian and secularist alike. For many Chartists the crimes of the Church of England were legion. They saw it as 'the most corrupt and oppressive institution in Europe', as 'old mother corruption' and as the 'cruel' and 'rapacious' ally of a tyrannical Government. The clergy, 'instead of taking the Bible as their guide, had made their desk their idol, had taken their ledger for their bible, and money as their God'; they 'teach people to endure the wrongs and cruelties they suffer quietly'; they have used 'their influence to get honest, industrious and peaceable individuals turned out of situations and employment on account of opinions'.[41] A local Chartist named Alexander Huish composed a 'Radical Litany' which was 'received with general approbation at Democratic meetings in Manchester'. Huish's 'Litany' shows how the radical critique of the Church of England was broadened to include other denominations, such as the Methodists, that had become part of the political establishment:[42]

From Church establish by law,
And tithes, enforced to glut the maw,
Of every idle, stinking caw,

Good Lord deliver us.

From bishops of all procurements,
Synodals and confirmations,
And every such like botheration,

Good Lord deliver us.

From foul hypocrisy and cant,
And selfish minds, of virtue scant,
And juggling Methodistic rant,

Good Lord deliver us.

In South Lancashire the feelings of bitterness and contempt were deepened because of the complicity of the Anglican Church in the Peterloo massacre. Two Anglican Clergymen – the Reverends W. R. Hay and C. W. Ethelstone – had been among the Magistrates who ordered the charge and, for their actions, these 'clerical magistrates' were afforded a special place in radical demonology. Samuel Bamford's references to 'Parson Hay' in 1820 were scathing:[43]

And here, like a good *loyal* priest thou shalt reign,
The cause of thy patrons [the Government] with zeal to maintain.
And the poor and the hungry shalt faint at thy word,
As thou doom'st them to hell in the name of the Lord.

And here is a Barrack with soldiers enow,
The deed which thou willest all ready to do;
They will rush on the people in martial array,
If thou but thy blood-dripping cassock display.

The politicisation of religion was also evident in the immediate aftermath of the massacre. Many local Anglican clergyman (and some conservative Nonconformist ministers) signed a 'Loyal Address' applauding the actions of the Yeomanry Cavalry and the doors of the Anglican Sunday schools were barred to all children sporting radical insignia – green ribbons and white hats.[44] These events set many men and women on the road to secularism, Owenism and other forms of infidelity. There were many others, however, like Dixon, who saw their cause as one sanctioned in the scriptures. Speaking at a meeting to protest against the prosecution of Heywood

for publishing Haslam's *Letters* (which had been urged on the Government by the Bishop of Exeter in the House of Lords), Dixon stated that Haslam's call for people to burn their Bibles[45]

> fell harmless upon his ear, he did not know why it should not fall harmless upon a bishop's ear. (Hear and laughter)...the Bible, which he bought in 1812, was not burnt, and he did not think that even the Bishop of Exeter had taken more pains to read the Bible than he had done.

As a 'radical Christian' Dixon was typical of many Chartists who stood their ground to contest the spiritual hegemony of the spokesmen of institutional churches.

In a scriptural interpretation not dissimilar to that referred to by modern theologians and commentators as 'liberation theology',[46] radical Christians fashioned the image of the levelling Christ into that of Christ, the first Chartist. The scriptures were readily given radical topicality. According to William Tillman in November 1840, 'if Jesus Christ were to come and preach in this day...he would be imprisoned'. The analogy was teased out even further:

> The present speakers in the Chartist movement were like the apostles of Jesus Christ, going about doing good, and who were sacrificed at the shrine of Mammon.

At the same time the South Lancashire Chartist Council took it upon itself to address to fellow Chartists 'in the name of God in whose cause you advocate'.[47] Many of those who read this address would have not thought them presumptuous, agreeing with R. J. Richardson that 'the voice of the people is the voice of God'.[48] A Manchester Chartist poet who was widely published in the Chartist press, Benjamin Stott, included several religious poems in his *Songs for the Millions* in 1842:

> Our God is good, his works are fair,
> His gifts to men are rich and rare;
> His holy presence everywhere,
> O'er land and sea,
> Proclaims that all should equal share
> Sweet Liberty.

The imagery of Stott's work was not obscure; 'Our God', the 'God of the Millions', was the ally of Chartism and guarantor of 'Sweet Liberty'.[49]

Amid the ranks of the local Chartists there were a number of Ministers and lay preachers – James Scholefield, William Jackson, William Taylor, James Cartledge and Elijah Dixon – who played an important role as

agents of religious radicalism. Dubbed the 'Chaplain of the Manchester Chartists', Scholefield's stance was based on what he called 'true' Christianity or 'the comfortable, liberal doctrines of the genuine Gospel'. For him, Christ was the defender of 'truth, justice' and 'PEACE'; the enemy of 'Sectarianism', 'Bigotry', 'Superstition', 'Tyranny and Oppression'; a friend to the poor and the most vehement advocate in 'the cause of liberty'. As a consequence 'true' Christians had to be thoroughgoing radicals: 'When...a government is incurably bad, cursed are the hands that hold [it] up, and blessed are the hands that pull [it] down!'[50] Responding to an anti-radical sermon preached by a local Methodist clergyman on the text 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers',[51] Scholefield placed the Bible above all else as a source of radical inspiration:[52]

> In short the Bible is the Book of all the books in the World, considering its inspiration and its doctrines, as eminently worthy of being entitled – RIGHTS OF MAN!

Jackson and Cartledge were both former Methodist preachers. Cartledge resigned 'in order to disclose to my friends my political principles' and Jackson, who also seceded as a result of his political activities, stated that 'he had assumed his position on the basis of the Bible', which he contrasted with that of the 'greatest enemies against which they had to contend...the ministers of the Gospel'.[53]

Elijah Dixon exemplified the millenarian tradition among the Christian Chartists of Manchester and Salford. He had been active in postwar radicalism, suffering imprisonment for treason in 1817. Like Scholefield, he had been part of the coterie that included E. T. Craig, Joseph Smith, Abel Heywood and the Cooper brothers and shared many of the experiences that set them on the road to secularism. But, as we have seen, Dixon did not burn his Bible:[54]

> I, therewith, took the Bible and Mirabaud's System of Nature, and went into my bedroom, kneeled me down with the books open, and prayed for that divine illumination, of which I was so much in need, and I, now, thank God, have obtained my heart's desire on that point.

Dixon emerged from his bedroom to take up the role as preacher of a schismatic sect known as Elijah Dixon's Christian Israelites.[55] Over a long career he was described variously as a 'Baptist', a 'Freethinking Christian', a 'Christian Israelite', a 'mystic' and a 'Universalist'. Richard Carlile, who had a high regard for this 'worthy man', found Dixon's 'most curious Christian religion of his own theoretical manufacture' beyond

comprehension,[56] but the descriptions cited above provide us with a way into the milieu in which his eschatology took shape.

In a study of Baptists in Victorian Lancashire one historian has concluded that they were 'chiefly hostile towards working class radicalism'. Another historian, Iain McCalman, has shown, however, that 'renegade Baptists' were part of the Society of Freethinking Christians established in London in 1798 and that this group countenanced the anti-clerical ideas of writers including Mirabaud (a pseudonym for Baron d'Holbach)[57] whose materialist text, *System of Nature*, Dixon placed alongside his Bible as a source of inspiration. The Freethinking Christians in London denied the divinity of Christ and discarded much of the New Testament as fraudulent, but they stopped short of deism. They also repudiated pulpit preaching and ecclesiastical ritual. It is probable that Dixon shared some of these ideas.[58] His associations with the Christian Israelites are clearer. Founded in nearby Ashton-under-Lyne by John Wroe, a false prophet and successor to Joanna Southcott, the Christian Israelites adopted practices of Judaism which required an austerely puritanical way of life.[59] The Southcottians take us to the heart of the millenarian tradition and Dixon shared their enthusiastic belief in the coming of the millennium. But Dixon was also a 'Universalist', believing in 'universal restoration from damnation' in a spiritual sense, earning him the title of mystic. Universalism – the belief that when the millennium commenced all men would become Christ in spirit – had been developed by another of Joanna's disciples, James 'Shepherd' Smith.[60] Smith demonstrated the ease with which people moved between utopian socialism and popular millenarianism, being both a Southcottian and an Owenite.[61] His creed had a radical edge; as J. F. C. Harrison has pointed out, Smith saw existing Christian churches as Antichrist which would have to be destroyed so that the millennium could begin.[62] Such views appealed to many men like Dixon who went on to be fierce opponents of Church rates as part of a broader campaign to smash the nexus between Church and state.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the pervasiveness of religious radicalism – a point reflected in the fact that the NCA membership card bore the words: 'This is Our Charter, God is Our Guide'. It was also evident in the frequent incorporation of some form of religious observance into Chartist rituals, from blessing the repast at radical dinners, singing 'Chartist Hymns' and opening meetings with a 'Chartist Catechism', to holding Chartist funerals in honour of fallen comrades.[63] The NCA Executive did not speak for all Chartists when it refused to countenance the establishment of Christian Chartist Churches at the 'expense' of the political organisation. Right under their noses in Manchester funds were

being raised 'towards helping found the York Street Sunday School and Church worshipping under the pastoral care of the Reverend W. V. Jackson'.[64]

Just as some radical Christians contested the spiritual hegemony of institutionalised Churches, others disputed the Owenite monopoly of the term socialism. There was a significant religious element to the ideology of the early co-operative movement, and radical Christians had taken prominent roles shoulder-to-shoulder with Owenites in running the trading associations of that period.[65] This was the golden age of utopian communitarianism (in Britain and America) and the subsequent efforts of Owen's disciples at building a 'new moral world' are well documented; what is far less well-known is that in Manchester and Salford a socialist venture of millennial dimensions took place that was inspired by a vision of radical Christianity.

In November 1838 the *New Moral World* noticed the publication in Manchester of the rules and regulations of a 'National Christian Community Friendly Society of All Classes'. Interspersed with liberal Biblical quotations, the preface to these rules outlined the foundation of a Christian Community worthy of the most grandiloquent Owenite utopia:[66]

> the gospel of Jesus Christ, replete with happiness for mind and body, for time and eternity, influences our conduct in establishing a National Christian Community, in which the young shall be well educated, the aged and infirm tenderly nursed, and all that can work shall work moderately, and shall be supported competently and uniformly....

Orphans were to 'have a mother and father in every surviving member of the community'; the widow will have the 'consolation' of every 'brother and sister'; crime, drunkenness, and 'other scandalous vices will soon be unknown'. Co-operation will herald a transformation in economic relationships – the 'necessaries of life' will be distributed 'economically', 'competently' and 'equitably':

> The fell dishonesty, now running through every vein of the great body of the people, and insinuating itself into every department of business, will be annihilated, and universal love, righteousness, and happiness, will prevail.

With some justification, the Owenites regarded this as tantamount to plagiarism and were suspicious of the motives behind the movement. The hostility of the *New Moral World* waned considerably, however, when a 'Christian Socialist' from Manchester published a tract entitled *Religion, as Now Practised, Opposed to the Laws of God; or Remarks on the*

Necessity of Immediately Reviving Primitive Christianity and a Community of Goods. Reviewing this pamphlet the editor concluded that, despite the 'admixture of the cant and the conventicle which here and there interrupts a stream of cogent reasoning', 'the Socialist' will find a 'corroboration of his views from an unexpected source'.[67]

It was almost two years before this Christian Community (re-named the Christian Co-operative Joint Stock Community) again came before the public. In a letter to the *New Moral World*, 'A Christian Socialist' reiterated the objectives of this association operating in the 'trading metropolis of the world':[68]

> to locate its members on LAND, with a view of ensuring to them constant employment, a competent supply of food and raiment, comfortable houses, support in old age, and a certain prospect of provision for their children; together with the advantages of wholesome, harmless, and invigorating recreation, mental and moral improvement, and the general happiness of the community.

'A Christian Socialist' also sent two longer letters to the *Northern Star*. The first underscored the importance of the land to this millennial perspective:[69]

> If any of your readers are believers in divine revelation, and I doubt not that thousands are, and if they hold the doctrine of the millennium, which no doubt many of them do, let me ask them, if the land is not a very essential part of the blessing promised in that era?

The second letter offered an insight into the practical aspects of the community:[70]

> The land [is] to be brought into cultivation as fast as our resources will admit of it...until a sufficient quantity is brought into cultivation to maintain those who may wish to be the first settlers, and so on until the whole of us are located upon it, which we expect will not be any very great length of time.

Funds were being raised by subscription at their weekly meeting according to the long-standing co-operative model, with each subscriber holding one five-acre share in the community. The letter concluded by inviting 'persons of strictly Christian principles' to correspond with the group, noting that such correspondence will be answered 'both as a Chartist and a Christian Socialist'.

A year later, in November 1841, the *Northern Star* carried a report of a meeting of this society in Scholefield's chapel in Ancoats. One of the

promoters of the association, Thomas 'the Captain' Barlow,[71] 'spoke for upwards of an hour on the advantages of Christian Union, and of the community which is now being established on Chat Moss'.[72] Chat Moss was an area of 6000 acres of marshy wasteland, seven miles west of Manchester. In the 1820s it had been the site of an experiment in land reclamation and agriculture by Edward Baines, later MP for Leeds. When the Manchester–Liverpool Railway was constructed across it in 1826 contemporaries referred to it as a technical 'miracle'.[73] Consisting of peat soil and bog, in places up to 30 feet deep, Chat Moss was a place to be avoided. 'Those who stepped upon it', wrote G. J. Holyoake, 'found it a black, wet sponge, which absorbed the pedestrian in it up to his knees....England had not a drearier spot in which to begin a new world.'[74]

What was not brought out in the press reports regarding the Christian Chartist experiment at Chat Moss was that it had been on the local radical agenda for at least a decade. Elijah Dixon was one who identified himself as a 'Chartist and Christian Socialist' and a principal promoter of the project. He had been active in the co-operative movement from the outset; he ran a co-operative store, joined the Committee for the Promotion of Co-operative Knowledge and later served as President of the North West Co-operative Council.[75] Like his radical beliefs, Dixon's socialism was vindicated in the Bible and he was widely reputed to be able to quote 'a variety of beautiful passages from Scriptures proving co-operation to be practical Christianity'.[76] In May 1831 at the height of the popularity of the co-operative stores, the First National Co-operative Congress took the time to reiterate that stores were 'only stepping stones to communities of mutual co-operation'. Some Manchester and Salford Owenites, including E. T. Craig and Joseph Smith, busied themselves establishing communities such as Ralahine in Ireland,[77] but Dixon and other radical Christians cast their eyes towards Chat Moss.[78]

In a lecture at the Salford Co-operative School in September 1832, Dixon concluded by observing that,

> a Company was being formed, to consist of 2000 £10 shares, to be raised by a subscription of 3d. a week upon each share, no person being allowed more than 10 shares, for the laudable purpose of *purchasing* land, and mutually employing themselves....

A week later he was able to exhibit a drawing of the proposed community and in November 1832 a Manchester delegate to a co-operative conference stated that one of its members had constructed a 'beautiful model' of the community which was nine feet in length.[79] Having progressed from

drawing-board to scale model they went on to get mud on their boots in the wilds of Chat Moss.

By the end of 1841 the members of the community had subscribed £200 with which they had purchased 14 acres of the Moss. At some stage they also constructed a farm house, known colloquially as Dixon's Farm. Later in the century one of Dixon's former acquaintances fondly recalled his memories of a[80]

> Sunday visit to his [Dixon's] farm on the Moss, of his fresh and youthful enthusiasm, and of his eager and unceasing talk all the long summer day of his two favourite and oddly diverse themes – the utilisation of waste lands, and Universalism as expounded in the Bible.

What became of this Christian Community is not known, although a report in 1844 indicated that three or four acres of reclaimed land on the Moss had yielded $67\frac{1}{2}$ tons of potatoes.[81] By the turn of the century Chat Moss had been purchased by the Manchester Corporation for use as a sewerage farm.[82]

There is more than a faint echo of William Cobbett's stirring evocations of Britain's rural past in the desire for resettlement which fired the imagination of the Chat Moss Christian Chartists. Such a resonance would not be surprising at a time when treasured copies of the *Political Register* were said to have enjoyed pride of place on the shelves of a multitude of Lancashire working men.[83] A link to the millennial proposals for land reform outlined by Thomas Spence was also possible. Historians have noted a revival of interest in Spence in some Chartist circles.[84] Whether this extended to Manchester is not clear, although his ideas had been brought north to Manchester by the son of Spence's principal disciple among the London ultra-radicals, Thomas Evans Junior, who had edited the *Manchester Observer* in the early 1820s. One of those involved in the Chat Moss experiment, James Scholefield, championed the productive capacity of agriculture and the merits of resettlement on waste lands for over thirty years, including in the columns of the *Observer* as early as 1819.[85]

This Christian Chartist experiment coincided with a widespread interest in land reform among leading Chartists and anticipated much of the Chartist Land Plan later in the 1840s. From his prison cell O'Connor encouraged James Leach in an open letter in May 1840 to begin in Manchester a nationwide network of 'Chartist Agricultural Associations – or Five Acre Associations – or Landed Labour Associations'.[86] Leach needed little encouragement; in the same month he had told an audience in Rochdale that a Chartist Government would solve the problem of surplus

labour by 'locating them on the fifteen million acres of waste land in Britain'. Over many years radicals had been aware that in Lancashire alone there were approximately 200 000 acres of waste land.[87] For people who had spent their lives in the 'hissing, burning, whizzing, jumping, thumping, rattling, steaming and stinking' factories of Manchester and Salford the attraction of rural resettlement was powerful. In April 1841, for example, an Irish Manchester Chartist, Charles Connor, painstakingly evoked an idyllic rural scene to the 'enthusiastic cheering' of his audience:[88]

> He wanted to see that state of society where every man would have his acre of land to fall back upon, so that he might have his pigs, and poultry, &c. &c., and where he would enjoy his health, and keep his body in that state of vigour which God and nature intended it should be (Hear). He, for his part, preferred living in a state where the linnet would be warbling upon the bush, and the lark fluttering over his head; where he could see the drivelling streams and the running brooks, the fertile fields with their blooming flowers; and where he could see nature decorated out with all its beauty and splendour...(Enthusiastic Cheering).

The cheering for Connor's wistful vision was matched by the enthusiastic subscriptions to the Land Plan in Manchester and Salford later in the decade.

The Chartist Land Company promised those who 'throng the filthy lanes, courts, and alleys of our cities and manufacturing towns' nothing short of a 'glorious work of social redemption'. Two branches of the Company (at John Murray's rooms in Carpenters' Hall, and in Salford, at the home of a veteran of the 'plan of practical co-operation', John Millington) were formed in 1845.[89] Precisely how many of the 70 000 subscribers to the Company were from Manchester and Salford is not clear, but in one month at its peak (July 1847) the Manchester branch sent upwards of £100 per week in subscriptions and listed 53, 44, 64 and 70 new subscribers in each of the four weeks.[90] At least 10 per cent (25) of the 250 members whose names were drawn in one of the periodic national ballots, and who were actually resettled on one of the Chartist estates, were Mancunians, including one of the national directors of the Company, Christopher Doyle, who drew a four-acre allotment at Snigs End in Gloucestershire.[91] The depth of the enthusiasm was evident to a Domestic Missionary, John Layhe, who concluded that 'the notion about the population of the country being rendered chiefly on the land, is, I think, at present, the favourite hobby of the extreme politicians in this town'.[92]

Layhe was probably correct when he went on to suggest that most of these enthusiasts 'would hardly know wheat from barley or a plough share

from a pruning hook', but this mattered little. In the history of nineteenth-century agrarian radicalism, the Chat Moss Chartist experiment should be afforded its proper place as a forerunner of the Chartist Land Plan, and an attempt to convert popular visionary rhetoric into reality. As a co-operative endeavour, the Christian Chartist community was one among a range of projects which occurred under the banner of Chartism in Manchester and Salford. An examination of these enterprises is a good starting-point for an examination of the close relationship between Owenism and Chartism, but it also draws attention to the widespread adherence to a vision of radical Christianity among the Manchester and Salford Chartists. Speaking at a Chartist dinner in the Hall of Science in August 1840, a leading Lancashire Chartist, John Deegan, pointed to a huge painting of a 'Social Community' which hung at the rear of the hall and stated that 'he would not give a bunch of radishes for any reform which would not give something like what was represented on that canvas'.[93] Around the hall and among the ranks of the Manchester and Salford Chartists at large, most would have agreed with this sentiment. Some would have shared Owen's secularist views; others, however, sought the 'new moral world' guided by Scripture.

7 Working-Class Self-Help

Only a few of those who went in quest of the 'new moral world' got mud on their boots in the treacherous marshes of Chat Moss. Beneath the 'inky canopy' of smoke in Manchester and Salford the millennium was under construction in a multitude of venues. Beginning with what E. P. Thompson has called the 'simple cellular structure'[1] of the friendly society and proceeding to grander designs involving temperance and education, this chapter will examine working-class self-help among the Chartist population of the 'shock city' of the age. A discussion of this theme has often been clouded by the divisions within the national Chartist leadership. During 1840 a tract by William Lovett, former Secretary of the London WMA where the People's Charter had originated, and John Collins of Birmingham, entitled *Chartism: A New Organisation of the People*, outlined a comprehensive proposal for a National Association for 'Promoting the Political and Social Improvement of the People' through a system of national education. The tract was well received; in Manchester Abel Heywood urged 'every man to get a copy'.[2] Late in 1840 another group of London-based Chartists, including several veterans of the WMA such as Henry Vincent, Henry Hetherington and John Cleave, issued an Address which identified 'the ignorance and the vices of the people' as the 'chief impediments in the way of all social and political improvement' and called on Chartists to take the teetotal pledge.[3] This initiative was also warmly received. Perhaps buoyed by this reception, early in 1841 Lovett and others took steps to found the National Association that they had foreshadowed in *Chartism*. Based on the premise that 'no earthly power can prevent an intelligent people from obtaining their rights', this Association was to be a vehicle to 'rescue' the people 'from the thraldom of their own vices'.[4] From his prison-cell in York, however, Feargus O'Connor issued a blistering attack on what he dubbed the 'New Move' to establish a rival organisation to the NCA, and to effectively impose additional qualifications on the suffrage. Manchester and Salford numbered some of O'Connor's most loyal supporters and all the local branches of the NCA carried strong resolutions condemning the 'New Move' as a 'treacherous design', a 'mean, base and traitorous attempt to divide the energies of the people'.[5]

For Mark Hovell, O'Connor's action amounted to the ejection of 'the leaven of idealism...from the Chartist mass', further emphasising that 'for

really intelligent working men O'Connor had no appeal'.[6] In this way Hovell was echoing Lovett's disdain for O'Connor and his followers, whose 'fustian jackets, blistered hands and unshorn chins' were, in reality, 'unwashed faces, unshorn chins and dirty habits'.[7] This was to miss the point. Despite their loyalty to O'Connor the Chartists of Manchester and Salford were neither ignorant nor intemperate. They rejected degradation, ignorance and drunkenness as part of the old immoral world, and, having made this rejection, many went on to espouse what Trygve Tholfsen has described as the 'profound commitment to the moral and intellectual development of the individual' in a non-deferential and stridently class-conscious creed.[8] This chapter then has special interest as a study of what has often been called 'moral force' Chartism in an O'Connorite stronghold.

Writing in 1912, G. B. Hertz claimed for Manchester a special place in the history of the friendly society. From Manchester, he wrote, 'radiated many of the great societies of today', the most noteworthy of which was the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows which was formed at the Repealers' Arms, Salford, about 1812.[9] In working-class Manchester and Salford during the 1830s and 1840s, however, the typical friendly society was not the 'great' institution of the 1900s, but a small, informal (often ephemeral) gathering that blended easily into other working-class activities taking place around it. As a consequence it was difficult even to estimate the membership of these societies. In his guidebook, published in 1842, Benjamin Love offered the 'modest computation' of 500 local societies, whereas a mere two years later, J. P. Culverwell claimed, in one of his notes to Faucher's *Manchester in 1844*, that there were 3059 lodges catering for 230 000 individuals.[10] Even working men found difficulty identifying friendly societies – at least that was how it appeared when a group of belligerent individuals from the Manchester Irish community attacked a lodge of the Ancient Forresters who were meeting in the Sherwood Inn adjoining the Chartist rooms in Tib Street. It would have come as little comfort to the aggrieved Forresters to learn that even the head of the Manchester Police, Sir Charles Shaw, was forced to admit to the Home Secretary that, on nights when many clubs met, it was 'most difficult to distinguish who were Chartists'.[11]

The blows aimed at the Forresters of Tib Street, however, might not have been entirely misplaced. As E. P. Thompson has written, the rudimentary model of the friendly society, sick or burial club 'was easily reproduced in more sophisticated and complex forms in trade unions, co-operatives...Political Unions and Chartist lodges'. This gave rise to

considerable suspicion in the minds of contemporary commentators such as Benjamin Love who, in his *Chapters on Working People*, declared that[12]

> too frequently these clubs under the pretence of an object so good are mere trade unions – combinations; designed ostensibly to benefit the working man, but which, in reality, serve no other end but support in idleness a talkative and treasonable demagogue....

Samuel Bamford agreed: at the time of Peterloo many 'benefit societies' were fronts for political radicalism.[13] Twenty years later there were undoubtedly a great many Chartists who were friendly society members. Robert Gray, an NCA General Councillor, was an officer of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows; Abel Heywood was treasurer of a local friendly society for many years; Benjamin Stott was a life-long member of the 'Shakespeare Lodge' of the Odd Fellows and devoted a lengthy poem to them in his published collection of Chartist poetry, *Songs for the Millions*; John Roach, an 'uncompromising' Chorlton Chartist, was an ardent Odd Fellow, as was young John Nuttall from the Tib Street branch; and R. J. Richardson's membership card of the Morning Star lodge of the Manchester Unity is preserved in his scrapbook.[14]

The strong political views of some members gave rise to considerable tension in some friendly societies, especially the 'great' societies which had adopted an apolitical stance that was innately conservative. Well might the Grand Marshal of 8000 Manchester Odd Fellows state at a dinner in 1841 that their society was made up of men 'of all descriptions of politics', but significantly he was followed on the podium by William Garnett, the perennial Tory candidate for Salford, and members were aware that the 'first law' of the institution required them to be 'well attached to the Queen and the Government of the country'.[15] Resentment of this by working-class radicals festered just below the surface and was easily inflamed. When the *Odd Fellows Quarterly Magazine* appeared in early 1842 containing a congratulatory Address to Queen Victoria on the birth of her son and heir signed by the 'Chief Officers of the Order', R. J. Richardson (at this time editor of the *Dundee Chronicle*) was provoked into a scathing rebuke. Richardson claimed that the 'Order from which the Magazine emanates is composed of the working classes – men who are easily excited on political subjects' and that the Magazine itself contained 'democratic sentiments through every page'. This is not surprising given that the editor was J. B. Rogerson, a member of the Sun Inn coterie of radical poets. Richardson declared the publication of a loyal Address 'not in good taste':[16]

> it ill contrasts with the nature of an institution, whose members have been driven to unite together for common support, in consequence of their individual means of support being taken from them to support costly royal establishments, with all their aristocratic appendages.

He concluded his broadside with a blunt warning to 'those who are at the head and have signed the Address in the name of the Order' that they 'should be very wary how they move, lest…they excite political controversy'.[17] The tension that had built up over the early 1840s erupted in 1845 when 13 000 members of Odd Fellows lodges in Manchester were 'suspended' by the Board of Directors for refusing to surrender their right to self-government. The presence of large numbers of Chartists among the ranks was evident. At protest meetings of the aggrieved members the platforms were occupied almost entirely by Chartists: William Dixon, R. J. Richardson, Benjamin Stott, Thomas Whittaker and John Hargreaves.[18]

Richardson's acceptance of the need to keep the organisation 'free from everything that savours of politics', helps to explain why the 'democratic sentiment' among the rank-and-file membership did not translate into a widespread involvement of friendly societies – as organisations – in the public activities of the Manchester and Salford Chartists. Because of this apolitical stance the evidence of involvement is understandably patchy: friendly societies and their bands sometimes marched in Chartist parades; occasionally they were listed among the contributors to Chartist funds; in November 1842 executive members of a lodge of the Manchester Odd Fellows joined O'Connor and radical MP, Thomas Duncombe, at a dinner for the latter.[19]

The rudimentary friendly society was the most common form of self-help, but many Chartists felt that a great deal more could be accomplished by total abstinence from intoxicating drink. Ostensibly there was considerable support for teetotalism among the Manchester and Salford working class. When the charismatic Irish priest Father Mathew toured in the early 1840s, for example, he was reputed to have administered the pledge to between 20 000 and 60 000 Mancunians. A more reliable indicator of support was the fact that a robust temperance organisation had been established in 1830 and by the end of the decade comprised a network of branches with an estimated 8000 members.[20] The debate between moderation and teetotalism had been resolved as early as 1835 in Manchester when the local temperance organisation abandoned moderation in favour of the teetotal pledge.[21] The constituency of teetotalism was sufficient to sustain several non-alcoholic hotels and coffee shops and two newspapers, the *Manchester and Salford Temperance Journal* and the *Star of Temperance*.

Officials of the temperance organisation (as it was still often called), such as the Reverend Francis Beardsall, editor of the *Star of Temperance*, referred to politics as the 'forbidden arena' for teetotallers, and added that the 'grand aim' of '*moral* reform' should take precedence over any attempt at political reform. In order to observe this sort of proscription of politics the Salford Temperance Rechabites (much to the chagrin of some members) moved from local meeting places rather than share them with the Chartists.[22] Other evidence, however, suggests that the official policy was more often honoured in the breach: in 1841 the *English Chartist Circular* carried a report from Manchester which indicated that 'some of the previously established non-political [teetotal] societies not only admit our Chartist friends but concede to them the right of advocating common cause'; during 1842 George Redfern's Temperance Hotel in George Street and Brown's Temperance Hotel in New Cross (both longstanding ports of call for local teetotallers) were important centres for fundraising for the Chartist Victim Fund, as well as providing a convivial atmosphere for the 'friends of moral and political reform'.[23] Another temperance hotelier since the mid-1830s, George Chambers, was a long-time fellow-traveller of local radicalism who joined the NCA in June 1841. Thereafter he gave an occasional lecture on teetotalism to local Chartist audiences,[24] whereas the Total Abstinence Society Band was known to provide entertainment at Chartist functions.[25] The Reverend James Scholefield and David Ross were two Chartists who were officials in local temperance bodies;[26] George Lomas, an active Chartist, was reputed to have delivered over 5000 temperance lectures in a long public career before his death in 1880.[27]

Local Chartists advocated total abstinence for a combination of tactical and moral imperatives. 'Drunkenness', according to William Griffin, led to 'poverty, misery, crime, and depravity of every description':[28]

> Although the working classes were oppressed very savagely by Government, there were thousands who oppressed themselves....

Similarly, Elijah Dixon and Thomas Barlow, promoters of the Christian Chartist land scheme on Chat Moss, wrote that public houses were the 'destroyers of social and political regeneration...the greatest obstacles to the obtaining of the People's Charter'; and David Ross argued that 'Modern patriot Chartists' must be 'sober, vigilant and determined':[29]

> There must be no domestic tyrants, – no brutal father taking a slice from the family loaf, in order to gratify an unnatural appetite for strong drink.

Scholefield, whose status as a teetotaller was in the first instance an article of religious faith, was one in a long line of radicals to point out that in

addition to physical and moral benefits, abstinence has the advantage of cutting the 'revenue of an extravagant, oppressive, and corrupt system of Government'.[30]

The extent to which the Manchester and Salford Chartists embraced teetotalism can be measured in several ways. First, in the weeks and months after the London Address calling on Chartists to take the pledge was issued late in 1840, a clutch of prominent local Chartists declared their support or sought to append their signatures to the document.[31] Teetotalism was also embraced at an organisational level. In October 1840 the Tib Street Chartist branch resolved that[32]

> the practice of abstaining from intoxicating drinks has been shown…to be founded on the best and most correct principles of moral virtue, and is well adapted to promote the progression of intelligence, and secure real happiness to man….

Resolutions were easily carried and not necessarily acted upon. A report in the *Northern Star* a few months later in February 1841, however, stated that the 'temperance cause in Manchester is progressing rapidly among the Chartists'.[33] At about the same time the *English Chartist Circular* reported that the Brown Street NCA, 'being mostly Total Abstinence',[34]

> selected from their body a Committee, to whom they delegated the duty of making the necessary arrangements for the establishment of a Society devoted to the advocacy of Teetotalism on *Chartist principles.* [Emphasis original]

In the short term their resolution led to recitals and festivals involving the 'singing of political and temperance songs' to relieve the 'cares and privations – the slavery and drudgery which embitters the life of the English serf'.[35] What became of the Brown Street proposal in the longer term is not clear, but as late as 1853 the Manchester Chartists were still 'earnestly' recommending 'the principles of sobriety'.[36] The most striking evidence of the extent to which teetotalism was embraced by local Chartists was the fact that from mid-1839 their functions – dinners, balls, festivals, commemorative parties and other forms of celebration – were usually teetotal affairs.

There is a need for caution, however, when dealing with evidence of this sort. At a time when hundreds of Chartists languished in prison-cells across Britain, and writers such as Thomas Carlyle were offering hostile characterisations of the movement as 'brickbats, cheap pikes and…sputterings of conflagration', many Chartists undoubtedly saw the advantage of projecting a respectable public image of orderliness and sobriety. Some local Chartists spoke disparagingly of drinkers in public. Phillip Knight,

for example, 'expressed his disgust at the conduct of working men, who could not refrain from the degradation of drunkenness'. Knight continued by arguing that 'before they came forward to reform other people they ought to reform themselves', while another Manchester Chartist called upon 'every true Briton...[to]...show that they are worthy of their freedom' by giving up drink.[37] By giving disproportionate coverage to the respectable side of Chartist affairs the Chartist press acts as (to use W. L. Burn's metaphor) a 'distorting mirror'. According to local recollection, for example, after the laying of the foundation stone of the Monument to Henry Hunt in March 1842 the 'taverns and clubs' of Ancoats rang out with renditions of the popular anthem 'With Henry Hunt We'll Go We'll Go', but the columns of the *Northern Star* are silent, reporting only the 'tea party' at the Hall of Science.[38] Singing in pubs does not necessarily add up to intemperance, but there was never any doubt as to the continued importance of drink and the pub in working-class life and Chartist politics.

The streets of working-class Manchester and Salford were full of pubs, beer houses and gin shops. Figures collected in 1840 for Manchester alone list 512 beer houses and 502 public houses to which should be added at least 400 dram shops and licensed victuallers. At the same time the Salford streets contained an estimated 97 public houses, 250 beer houses and 10 spirit vaults.[39] Evidence collected during the 1850s indicated that, if anything, the amount of drinking had increased. A survey conducted by the Manchester Temperance Association over 10 Sundays in Manchester in 1852 recorded 215 318 visits to 1437 establishments for the 'purchase of intoxicating liquor'.[40] These pubs were hubs of working-class social life and leisure; they offered convivial surroundings which might include singing or music, a reading room, a bagatelle board, a game of dominoes, drafts or cards or simply a good fire.[41] Many Chartists were not immune to these attractions. As Lloyd Jones (himself a staunch teetotaller) recalled, the lure of the pub was powerful:[42]

> drink was the mainspring of enjoyment. When Saturday evening came, indulgences began which continued till Sunday evening. Fiddles were to be heard on all sides, and limp-looking men and pale-faced women thronged the public-houses, and reeled and jigged till they were turned, drunk and riotous, into the streets, at most unreasonable hours.

A piece written about a Saturday night in London Road referred to 'public houses, streaming with light and literally choked with customers'.[43]

The pub also fulfilled a vital role as a meeting place for working-class organisations, a point developed by Faucher on his visit to Manchester in 1844:[44]

> The public-house is for the operative, what the public squares were for the ancients. It is there where they meet one another, and where they discuss the topics in which they are interested. Their meetings, whether permanent or accidental; their masonic lodges; their mutual aid societies; their clubs and secret societies, are all held in public houses.

The Chartists were no exception. After all the NCA was born in a Manchester pub and while most local Chartist branches occupied private premises for meetings, there were, nevertheless, a couple of dozen well-patronised Chartist and trade-union haunts in Manchester and Salford. Supporters of teetotalism among political radicals had long recognised the need to break this nexus. In 1834, when the Society for the Diffusion of Sound Political Knowledge was founded at a public house in Great Ancoats Street, the editor of the *Herald of the Rights of Industry* suggested that 'such an institution...we think would be more likely to become useful if held in a private room'. One of the functions of the 'public halls' envisaged by Lovett and Collins was to 'prevent the formation of vicious and intoxicating habits'.[45] According to a local social investigator, Horace Hartwell, an Owenite he had encountered did not attend the Hall of Science 'for the sake of the *doctrine*, but because he could obtain rational recreation at a trifling cost, without being forced to *drink*'. If this anecdote has a hollow ring to it, it must be said that by April 1841 the Salford NCA had resorted to holding recreation classes every Wednesday and Saturday evening to 'keep them from the Gin Palace'. The prominence of dancing, singing and recitations on the agenda at Brown Street and Tib Street was no doubt partly a reflection of the same pressure.[46] Even so the temptation of drink was always close at hand. In 1847 a pub seductively named the 'Northern Star' opened next door to Chartist headquarters in Heyrod Street, Ancoats.[47]

The incidence of widespread drinking or support for drink among the Manchester and Salford Chartists was only occasionally captured in public reports. Nevertheless, the fact that the reporter of the *Manchester Times* recorded 'laughter' as the audience response when a prominent Chartist declared himself to be a teetotaller at a public meeting, serves as a warning that reports, such as that by Sir Charles Shaw, to the effect that Chartist meetings in Tib Street 'generally finish in drunkenness and riot', ought not be dismissed out of hand as blind prejudice.[48] The 'distorting mirror' could not obscure the fact that, as with most Chartist localities, Manchester and Salford had one or more publicans among the local membership. John Royle, who was elected to the Executive Council of the MPU in 1838 was landlord of the Town Hall Tavern, home of the Hulme

and Chorlton Chartists, in Chatham Street, Chorlton, and for a time R. J. Richardson also ran a public house. The most prominent local Chartist publican was Edward Nightingale, landlord of the General Abercrombie, a tap room in Great Ancoats Street, who was known as the 'dictator of New Cross' for orchestrating rough-house tactics at public meetings.[49] Pro-drink sentiments were also evident when Chartists, led by James Wroe and James Wheeler, organised meetings in opposition to the Malt Tax in order that working men might enjoy 'cheap beer', and when Mark Gradwell, a prominent Chartist among the Manchester hand-loom weavers, attempted to 'bring teetotal principles into disrepute' in debate with other Chartists.[50] There were undoubtedly also many Chartists who may have acknowledged the advantages of projecting a public image of sobriety, but who continued to drink. Take James Leach as an example. In July 1840 Leach admitted he was not a teetotaller and objected to a proposal to make total abstinence 'compulsory for NCA Officers and missionaries'; by February 1841 he had apparently undergone a conversion as he publicly appended his signature to the London Declaration calling on Chartists to take the pledge. During Court proceedings in 1843, however, Leach's frequent and long-standing habit of calling into the Queen's Stores in Whittle Street for a 'social glass' was attested.[51] One of Leach's drinking companions in the 'snug' at the Queen's Stores, Peter McDouall, was another who had publicly advocated total abstinence.[52] This was not a scandal. Rather, it was a reflection of an overlap of popular cultures.[53]

There is no hint of this cultural divide among the Manchester and Salford Chartists in relation to education, the other basic means of self-improvement. A passion for education was evident first in the annals of individual achievement. The history of working-class radicalism is dotted with the sacrifices and achievements of men who were almost paradigms of the autodidact. To the names of Thomas Cooper, William Lovett and Robert Lowery add the names of Elijah Ridings and Abel Heywood as local examples of men whose experience was summarised in the title of G. L. Craik's well-known 1831 book, *The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties*.[54]

Born in 1802, Ridings was the tenth of fifteen children of poor silk-weavers living in Failsworth and later Newton on the outskirts of Manchester. As a 17-year-old, Ridings led the local radical contingent to Peterloo, narrowly escaping injury, and in the 1820s he was a founding member of the local Zetetic Society and an advocate of radical reform, atheism and republicanism. Ridings' life was a constant struggle against poverty; he received little formal education but as he toiled at the loom he 'read such books as came within reach' eventually educating himself

'above the ordinary standard of working men' and earning renown for his poetry and the nickname 'Byron of the Loom'.[55] Heywood received a rudimentary education before commencing work as a 9-year-old boy at a warehouse in High Street, Manchester. A founding member of the Manchester Mechanics Institute in the 1820s, he supplemented his education outside working hours studying mechanical drawing and science, later earning himself a reputation for his lectures on the 'philosophy of spectral illumination' which he demonstrated with the phantasmagoria.[56] As a publisher of a range of self-improvement tracts and pamphlets Heywood was not afraid to remind his Chartist colleagues of his own achievement:[57]

> he was born and bred in poverty;...he had by dint of his exertions raised himself up to that state to be enabled to do some little service in the cause of the working people....

Heywood and Ridings were only two among the many, identified by numerous commentators, in the 'machine shops, printworks, and factories' who, by 'much perseverance and a noble determination' overcame 'difficulties in the pursuit of information', and contributed to what E. P. Thompson has called the hum of the energy of the autodidact.[58]

When Heywood argued that 'knowledge is power', he was by no means alone among the Manchester and Salford Chartists. Other strident advocates of education included William Griffin, for whom 'Thinking, reading, and examining would give knowledge – knowledge would give power, and power would give liberty', and William Tillman who linked temperance and education:[59]

> He was very glad to hear of the spread of temperance in the town of Manchester, but it would be of very little importance unless they devoted that time which they had formerly spent at the public house to the improvement of their minds....

For some individuals this commitment was expressed through an involvement in a local educational institution. The Reverend James Scholefield ran a day school and a Sunday school; Reverend William Jackson also ran a Sunday school in Lombard Street and later York Street, Hulme; James Wroe and James Cartledge both worked for periods as schoolteachers.[60] Arthur O'Neill, a Chartist newsagent in Oldham Road, was an active member of the Ancoats Lyceum essay and discussion society; Heywood lectured at the Salford Lyceum where R. J. Richardson was a member.[61] The working-class self-improvement ethic was, as we have noted, non-deferential and stridently class-conscious. Thus when O'Connor issued his

famous broadside against 'knowledge Chartism' on the grounds that it was 'nothing more or less than a mode of canvassing support for Mechanics Institutes and the Brougham system of making one portion of the working class disgusted with all below them', he was reflecting a widespread ambivalence regarding organisations with wealthy patrons and what J. P. Kay smugly called '*correct* political information' to impart.[62]

To a certain extent all the local institutions offering adult education were tarred with this brush in the eyes of the Chartists. When the so-called 'working man's university', the Manchester Parthenon, was founded in October 1838, a group of Chartists arrived to complain that the proposed fees were beyond all but a 'few favoured trades', and that most would be unable to benefit as they were locked up in the 'hospitals of disease, the factories'.[63] The Parthenon (and the Lyceums in Ancoats, Chorlton and Salford) did receive support from working-class radicals, but this was dependent on the level of control they exercised, including the capacity to satisfy their 'thirst for political knowledge'. Their successes were evident in the fact that the reading room at the Ancoats Lyceum offered the *Northern Star* and Bronterre's *British Statesman*, something unheard of at the Mechanics Institute,[64] where a blanket ban on political discussion and lack of democratic accountability had precipitated a massive walkout led by Rowland Detrosier and Heywood in 1829.[65]

The Chartist support for education was most evident, however, in the record of their collective action. The 'purely proletarian' education provided to Chartist children in the family home has been discussed in an earlier chapter. The education of young Chartists was formalised by the Salford NCA in a Sunday School conducted during 1841 and by the Tib Street branch where the night school was open every Wednesday, Thursday and Friday for reading and writing in 1842.[66] The tradition of adult education in Salford stretched back to at least early 1833 when the members of the Salford Political Union, 'being fully convinced that ignorance is the power which keeps the industrious man in bondage', met every Sunday evening to read and discuss radical newspapers. By January 1838 the Salford WMA boasted a reading room stocked with 'nearly the whole of the London and provincial press' and hosted discussions every Tuesday and Friday evenings. Nearly two years later, in October 1839, the Salford RA resolved to continue discussions and to 'form a library of the best political writers of past and present times as we are convinced of the maxim viz. "a wise people can alone be a free people"'.[67] Regular 'discussions' among the Salford Chartists continued into 1841, canvassing an extraordinary range of subjects – on one Monday the question was how to 'know if a man be a progressive being' and on the next 'capital and

labour' as understood by the 'Adam Smith Political Economy School'. By mid-1841 the Salford Chartists had also commenced their library and Sunday school.[68]

Across the Irwell in Manchester the Chartists of Tib Street had been holding a regular discussion class since at least October 1840. When they moved to their new home in Redfern Street in November 1841 they established the Manchester 'Operatives Mutual Improvement Society'. For a penny a week the members of this group gained entrée to an 'intellectual hotbed' for the 'moral and intellectual improvement of the working class' where 'all questions of popular interest are subjected to the test of discussion' with the aid of a 'constantly increasing library'.[69] In 1842 the Manchester Chartists established a library and a Sunday school at Carpenters' Hall.[70] By 1845 there were about 700 students attending this school despite the determined opposition of some local mill-owners who dismissed Chartist and Owenite scholars. Nearly a decade later, in 1853, the Manchester Chartists still had an active 'Library Committee' and central to the weekly programme was a course of educational lectures 'on the arts and sciences, biography, history &c'.[71]

It is not surprising that the NCA was remembered by some as the 'old lecturing association', for the most common mode of Chartist education was the lecture.[72] During the early 1840s the Manchester area boasted at least 21 paid lecturers organised according to a comprehensive system plundered from the Methodist Circuit model. These 21 voices boomed in Chartist rooms, chapels, halls and market-squares across south-east Lancashire for two hours at a time, week in and week out.[73] On one Sunday evening in July 1841, the Manchester correspondent to the *Northern Star* reported, the Chartists had the choice of five different lectures in rooms around Manchester and Salford.[74] A similar report might have been written about practically any other Sunday during 1841–42. The promise that Chartist lectures would be 'highly interesting to the listener' does not do justice to the extraordinary range of topics covered in this potent mix of education, recreation and entertainment. The Chartists of the Manchester district enjoyed lectures on subjects from 'geology', 'coal mines', and the 'productive powers of the land', to 'monarchy and republicanism', the 'improbability of the destruction of the Earth', and 'the comparative conduct of the pharisees and sadducees'.[75] Nor does it give sufficient indication of the oratorical skills attained by some Chartist lecturers. While among the local crop there were none to compete with the likes of Henry Vincent, the 'young Demosthenes of English democracy', and Feargus O'Connor whose 'infectious voice' and 'spirited manner' were legendary,[76] there were some consummate performers. James Leach

was warmly received as a platform orator across the north of England and David Ross, an Irish Mancunian, was widely acclaimed. A correspondent to the *British Statesman* enthused:[77]

> It is impossible to convey an idea of the above lecturer. Mr Ross is not only conversant with all that is pure and exalted in morality, but he is a master of that eloquence which melts the soul to pity and fires it with enthusiasm. His arguments are clear, powerful and effective – his eloquence faultless.

The Chartists' educational endeavours had collateral aims with those of many middle-class liberals but, as Tholfsen has rightly pointed out, Chartists 'rejected out of hand the utilitarian-evangelical doctrine that the poor had to be delivered from depravity and educated to industrious and "rational" subordination'.[78] This rejection was evident when Archibald Prentice mooted an educational qualification for the suffrage; he was savagely attacked as an 'arch-hypocrite', a 'fawning parasite' and an 'arrogant, presumptuous *feelosopher* [Cobbett's term of abuse for Scottish political economists]'.[79] Although Chartists remained suspicious of educational schemes being turned (to use Gammage's words)[80] to 'middle-class' ends, most recognised the political potential of knowledge. The widespread belief among the ruling classes that education would undermine the social order was not lost on radicals; anecdotes such as Rowland Detrosier's account of the Manchester factory-owner who sought an employee 'who will work, and take his glass of ale. I'll think for him', quickly became part of radical folklore.[81] Consequently many working-class radicals in Manchester and Salford accepted the challenge to be 'superior in political knowledge to the classically educated', and honed their intellectual skills to a razor-sharp edge as an instrument of struggle. Thus David Ross urged his Chartist comrades:[82]

> Make the best use of time in improving your own minds; study closely, read attentively, and work assiduously…to spread knowledge in order the better to battle with.

This chapter has shown that the divisions within the Chartist leadership are a poor guide to the activities of the rank-and-file. The dichotomy between moral and physical force Chartism as set out by older historians does not apply to Manchester and Salford. Despite O'Connor's attacks on divisive 'crotchet mongers', temperance and especially education were embraced by the Manchester Chartists, including some of his most fiercely loyal supporters. William Henry Chadwick, a Manchester Chartist who made his debut in public life as a 16-year-old public lecturer on

temperance, illustrates this point. His 'outstanding hero' was not Robert Lowery, William Lovett or Henry Vincent, but Feargus O'Connor.[83] Taking from O'Connor's leadership the features of a non-deferential class consciousness, Chadwick blended them with his own zeal for self-improvement.



Part 3:
‘The Fustian Jackets’



8 Prison, Poverty and Professional Politics: A Biographical Analysis of the Local Chartist Leadership

Since G. D. H. Cole initiated the biographical approach to Chartist studies with the publication of *Chartist Portraits* in 1941, there have been few attempts to examine the personnel of Chartism collectively.[1] Biographical considerations have suffered most in local studies. Donald Read's account of Manchester Chartism, for example, is salted with the names of a dozen or so local leaders, but they remain no more than names.[2] In conjunction with a set of biographies (see Appendix A) this chapter will examine the careers of 30 local Chartists; it will compare their backgrounds; it will discuss some crucial common experiences, and will conclude by offering a composite picture of the 'typical' Chartist leader in Manchester and Salford.[3] Inevitably this will involve some overlap with material covered in other sections of the book. The 30 individuals whose experiences form the core of the chapter were not randomly chosen from several hundred candidates. The 30 portraits have been built up from a multitude of fragmentary references in a plethora of primary sources; those chosen to appear were not necessarily the most important local Chartists or even the most active, but they were the most vociferous and, consequently, in an important sense they selected themselves. An obituary in the *Northern Star* said of a Hulme Chartist, William McCulloch, that he was 'one of those quiet though not less useful members of the cause, who did the more important part of working, and left the speechifying to others....'[4] The 'quiet' men and women who filled the ranks of the movement are not found in this chapter. It will surprise no practitioner of 'history from below' that there are important gaps in the information even about these 30 Chartists.

The age of the men included in the local Chartist portraits ranged over three generations (see Table 8.1) emphasising the fact that the Chartist ranks comprised men who had been blooded in radicalism before the end

of the French Wars as well as youths in their first campaign; the group included a veteran of the Irish rebellions of 1798 and 1803, an 1817 Blanketeer, several Peterloo victims as well as numerous veterans of the struggles of the 1820s and 1830s. The most notable feature of the age distribution, however, was the disproportionate number of men aged between 29 and 34 years old in 1840 (nine of the 23 whose age is known). The average age of the group was 36.6 years old and the median age was 33.[5] These men entered Chartism as hardened activists; for example, 19 of the 30 were already members of the Executive of the MPU at the outset of the Chartist struggle.

The places of birth of the group are a reminder that Chartism was a cosmopolitan movement and that Manchester and Salford were immigrant cities. Of 24 whose places of birth are known, there were two born in Scotland and six in Ireland. Moreover, of those born in England, only six are identified as hailing from the Manchester and Salford area (see Table 8.1).[6] A further two were born in other Lancashire towns and five hailed from neighbouring Cheshire and Yorkshire. Although there is only clear information in relation to a handful of cases, it appears that most of those born elsewhere had settled in Manchester as children or young men, and by 1840 had been resident in Manchester for between ten and thirty years. Elijah Dixon had come across the Pennines from Yorkshire as an 11-year-old in 1801; James Scholefield had made the same journey before 1809; Edward Curran and Christopher Doyle had emigrated from Ireland as teenagers in 1818 and 1827 respectively; James Cartledge settled in Manchester between 1820 and 1825 and James Leach in 1826.[7] The only exceptions among the group were William Tillman, who probably moved from Chatham in Kent to Manchester in the mid-to-late 1830s, and, although his place of birth is unknown, William Griffin, who came to Manchester in 1840 from nearby Stockport.

The length of residence (and the age) is reflected in the fact that native and immigrant alike typically had well-established familial roots in Manchester and Salford. This was overwhelmingly a married group – 22 of the 26 cases where the status is known were married men.[8] A conservative estimate suggests that there was an average of 3.22 children for each of the couples.[9] One, James Scholefield, had eight children; William Willis had six children, and at least four others – Christopher Dean, Daniel Donovan, James Wroe and James Leach – had five (see Table 8.2). The importance of kinship and the family unit in the culture of radicalism that underpinned the Chartist struggle is evident among the group. Many of the men featured in this chapter enjoyed the active support of a wife or other close family member. Wroe's wife and two brothers, for example, followed him into

Table 8.1 Age in 1840/Place of Birth

BELL, William	25	Ecclefechan, Scotland
BUTTERWORTH, William	31	Oldham, England
CAMPBELL, John	30	Ireland
CARTLEDGE, James		
COOPER, James Renshaw		Barton, Manchester, England
CURRAN, Edward	41	Ireland
DEAN, Christopher	32	
DIXON, Elijah	50	Kirkburton, Yorkshire, England
DONOVAN, Daniel	23	Cork, Ireland
DOYLE, Christopher	29	Dublin, Ireland
GRIFFIN, William		?Stockport, England
GROCOTT, William		
HADFIELD, George	53	
HEYWOOD, Abel	30	Prestwich, Manchester, England
JACKSON, William Vickers	37	Kersal, Manchester, England
LEACH, James	34	Wigan, England
LINNEY, Joseph	32	Macclesfield, England
LITTLER, Richard		
MURRAY, John	63	Ireland
NIGHTINGALE, Edward		
RANKIN, Thomas	19	Scotland
RICHARDSON, Reginald John	32	Manchester/Salford, England
ROSS, David		Ireland
SCHOLEFIELD, James	50	Colne Bridge, Yorkshire, England
SMITH, George Henry	36	Brinnington, Stockport, England
TILLMAN, William	36	Chatham, Kent, England
WHEELER, James	49	England
WHITTAKER, Thomas	28	England
WILLIS, William	33	Manchester, England
WROE, James	51	Manchester, England

prison during the 1820s for continuing his radical newsagency, and his daughter, who had been suckled in custody, was to be found helping behind the counter in the late 1830s. Their story led a *Manchester Times* correspondent to cite the parable: 'Education forms the youthful mind; just as the twig is bent the tree is inclined.'[10] The wives of Joseph Linney and Richard Littler were both active in Chartist politics; Abel Heywood's mother and brother helped in the running of his newsagency as did Leach's wife and sons.[11] Not only was the burden of the management of the Richardson newsagency in Salford shared between R. J. Richardson, his

Table 8.2 Marital status/Number of Children/Religion

BELL, William	M	3	
BUTTERWORTH, William	M	1	Anglican
CAMPBELL, John	M		
CARTLEDGE, James	M		Methodist/own sect
COOPER, James Renshaw			Owenite/Secularist
CURRAN, Edward	M	3	
DEAN, Christopher	M	5	
DIXON, Elijah	M	2+	Baptist/own sect
DONOVAN, Daniel	M	5	
DOYLE, Christopher	S		Catholic
GRIFFIN, William	M	1	
GROCOTT, William	M	1	
HADFIELD, George			
HEYWOOD, Abel	M(2)	2+	Owenite/Unitarian
JACKSON, William Vickers	S		Methodist/own sect
LEACH, James	M	5	Anglican
LINNEY, Joseph	M	1+	
LITTLER, Richard	M		
MURRAY, John			
NIGHTINGALE, Edward			
RANKIN, Thomas	M	3	
RICHARDSON, Reginald John	M	4	Anglican
ROSS, David	M		Catholic
SCHOLEFIELD, James	M	8	Bible Christian
SMITH, George Henry	S		
TILLMAN, William	S		undefined Christian
WHEELER, James	M	2	
WHITTAKER, Thomas	M	1	Catholic
WILLIS, William	M	6	Anglican/Catholic
WROE, James	M	5	undefined Christian

wife Elizabeth and cousin Charles Hulme, but also four sons were involved.[12] Hopes for a continuity of radicalism through flesh and blood were also evident in the choice of names. Among the children of the 30 local Chartists under examination there was one Richard Carlile, one Henrietta Hunt, a Robert Owen and at least three Feargus O'Connors.

The firm roots established among the group were evident in a keen interest and involvement in the municipal government of Manchester and Salford. At least six of the 30 held municipal office (seven including William Bell's later service as a town councillor in Heywood): Wroe (Manchester Police

Commission 1830–42); Heywood (Manchester Police Commission 1836–42, Manchester Town Council 1843–93); Scholefield (Manchester Police Commission 1833–36, 1839–42, Manchester Town Council 1847–53); Willis (Manchester Police Commission 1837–40, Salford Police Commission 1838–41, Salford Select Vestry c.1837–?); Edward Nightingale (Manchester Police Commission 1837–40); Richardson (Salford Police Commission 1839–c.44, Salford Select Vestry c.1837–?). Others were noted for their interest and regular interventions in local affairs.[13]

In only half of the 30 cases under examination is the religious affiliation (or lack of it) known (see Table 8.2). Reference has been made, in an earlier chapter, to the results of the 1851 national Census of Religious Worship which revealed that in Manchester a mere 12.6 per cent of the population attended the Church of England and that only a further 19.0 per cent were non-Anglican churchgoers. In the light of these findings the large number of Chartists about whom there is no information may suggest indifference.[14] The scarcity of Anglicans in Manchester and Salford is clear. Among the half whose religious affiliation is known there were only four Anglicans, one of whom (William Willis) later converted to Catholicism and another (R. J. Richardson) must have had only a nominal affiliation, as he was a leading opponent of Church rates.[15]

The other 11 included men who were more likely to be hostile than indifferent to the established Church. It numbered, first, two atheists – J. R. Cooper, an Owenite and Secularist, and Abel Heywood, a devoted Owenite known for his 'very peculiar views on religious subjects' (later in the 1840s Heywood became a Unitarian). Second, there were three Catholics (four, including Willis), two Irish (Doyle and Ross) and one English (Whittaker). The remaining six – Scholefield, Dixon, Wroe, Cartledge, Jackson, Tillman – are best described as 'radical Christians'. First, they were advocates of a theological standpoint amenable to radicalism. On a tour of the north in the late 1820s, Richard Carlile summed up this aspect of James Wroe's religious beliefs in terms which apply to the others. Wroe's Christianity was 'all of the present and practical kind':[16]

> in which, the supposed founder, or Jesus Christ, is made a Radical Reformer of a bad government and a bad priesthood, thus making him to answer the double purpose of a religious and a political saviour.

Secondly, all six were openly hostile to the major Christian churches, beginning with the Church of England, but also including denominations such as the Methodists that had become part of the political order. Dixon, Scholefield and Wroe had been leading campaigners against the Church rates in Manchester during the early 1830s.[17] Jackson and Cartledge were

former Methodist preachers who seceded as a result of their political principles,[18] and, in the aftermath of Peterloo, Scholefield had almost recklessly flaunted his radical opinions against those clergy – Anglican and Dissenting – who signed a Loyal Address condoning what he called the 'lawless butchery of poor unarmed men, unprotected women, and innocent children'.[19]

In only three cases among the 30 Chartist portraits is there evidence that they had attended that engine-room of education in the nineteenth century, the Sunday School. Heywood attended the Church of England School in Bennett Street, Manchester, and J. R. Cooper was expelled from his Methodist Sunday School for wearing a White Hat of Liberty after Peterloo. Scholefield probably received the most formal education among the group (including physical science, medicine, astronomy, Latin, Hebrew and Greek)[20] at the Salford Grammar School and Academy of Sciences run by William Cowherd, a theologian, polymath and founder of the schismatic Swedenborgian sect, the Bible Christians, in which Scholefield ministered from 1813 to his death in 1855. Similarly, only two can be identified as members of institutions established for adult education: Heywood was a founding member of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute and Richardson joined the Salford Lyceum. Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the level of educational attainment among the group was high by the standards of the day.[21] This was evident, first, in many of their activities. Rankin and Ross indulged in the most common form of Chartist literary activity after journalism, poetry. Several of Ross's poems (of reasonable didactic quality) and one of Rankin's were published in the *Northern Star* which had been inundated with verses and lyrics almost from the day the paper first appeared.[22]

Richardson, Wroe and Leach, on the other hand, exhibited their education through their service as newspaper editors, Griffin did so as a reporter to the *Northern Star*, and Grocott as an intermittent correspondent to the *Miners' Advocate*. Wroe had also been a schoolteacher during the 1820s; Cartledge was another who 'conducted a seminary for the instruction of youth', as had Scholefield, Ross and Jackson.[23] Richardson, who was reputed to have received a 'good education' and be 'very much given to reading',[24] was a prolific writer of tracts, pamphlets and newspaper articles; Campbell, Scholefield, Leach, Wheeler, Willis, Curran, Cartledge and Griffin were all responsible for composing material that ranged from the 'confessions' of dying criminals (Willis) and cheap commentaries (Wheeler)[25] to political and trade-union addresses (Curran, Cartledge and Griffin),[26] and polemical treatises (Leach and Campbell). The richness of Scholefield's education was evident from his writings touching on subjects as diverse as Malthus's theory of 'Surplus Population' and the chemical properties of the grape, and his

publications including collections of sermons, hymns, and a revised edition of a cookery-book.[27] For others a level of education can be inferred from their occupancy of the position of Secretary in a trade union or political organisation (Tillman, Grocott and Whittaker). In the case of Christopher Dean, the fact that he 'reads and writes well' was attested before a Court.[28]

To this evidently high level of education among the 30 Chartist leaders must be added the fact that a considerable number (at least 11 of the 30) were professed teetotallers.[29] This number was high at a time when the public house continued to occupy a central place in political culture and working-class life generally, perhaps too high. Certainly there were several among the group (Scholefield, Ross and Whittaker, for example) whose teetotalism was a deeply-held conviction; in some cases, inspired by a fierce sense of rectitude. There were also those, such as Nightingale and Richardson, who, as publicans, unashamedly maintained links with the drink trade. But there were others who were caught between two worlds. Linney, for example, signed the teetotal Chartist declaration, but in 1845 he became landlord of the White Horse Inn in Bilston High Street, a position he occupied into the 1850s.[30] As noted in a previous chapter, Leach adopted the teetotal Chartist declaration, but he continued to enjoy a regular 'social glass' with Doyle and others. Clearly then the group includes examples of both 'types' featured in E. P. Thompson's typology of nineteenth-century labour leaders. Among those on the platform at a public dinner Thompson contrasts the devout, sober, pious individual with a militant, red-blooded, irreverent counterpart whose constituency was the pub and not the Chapel and who, after enduring 'an inordinately long, self-serving, godly and officious grace' intoned 'and FOOKIN' AMEN to that!'[31]

Although eight of the group signed the teetotal Address which had been initiated by Henry Vincent, William Lovett and others who were implacably hostile to the leadership of Feargus O'Connor, the 30 local leaders reflect the fact that Manchester and Salford were undoubted O'Connorite strongholds. Eighteen of the 30 served as NCA General Councillors; six (Tillman, Littler, Leach, Doyle, Campbell and Heywood) held elected office on the National Executive of the principal Chartist organisation. The fact that Manchester and Salford contained some of O'Connor's ablest and most loyal lieutenants was reflected in the fact that he included no less than seven (Butterworth, Campbell, Heywood, Cartledge, Leach, Rankin and Wheeler) among his national 'old list' of 87 trusted Chartist leaders published in April 1841. One of the 'old list', Heywood, was O'Connor's business manager in the early 1840s, and when he visited Manchester he often stayed with Scholefield whom he had befriended on his first tour of the north in 1835.[32] The location of Manchester and Salford in the wing of the movement

headed by O'Connor was again evident in 1842–43 by the almost total rejection of the middle-class embrace, in the form of Joseph Sturge's NCSU. Only two of the 30 (Richardson and Linney) attended the first Complete Suffrage Conference in April 1842, and only two (Heywood and Smith) later joined the Manchester branch of the NCSU (see Table 8.3). Reflecting

Table 8.3 Chartist Involvement, 1838–43/Arrest/Prison

	MPU	*NCA*	*Old-list*	*NCSU*	*Arrest*	*Prison*
BELL, William		X			X	X
BUTTERWORTH, William	X		X		X	X
CAMPBELL, John	X	X	X		X	
CARTLEDGE, James		X	X		X	
COOPER, James Renshaw		X			X	?
CURRAN, Edward	X	X			X	X
DEAN, Christopher	X				X	
DIXON, Elijah	X				X	X
DONOVAN, Daniel		X			X	X
DOYLE, Christopher	X	X			X	X
GRIFFIN, William		X			X	
GROCOTT, William		X			X	X
HADFIELD, George	X					
HEYWOOD, Abel	X	X	X	X	X	X
JACKSON, William Vickers	X	X			X	X
LEACH, James	X	X	X		X	X
LINNEY, Joseph	X	X		X	X	X
LITTLER, Richard	X	X				
MURRAY, John		X				
NIGHTINGALE, Edward	X				?	
RANKIN, Thomas		X	X		X	X
RICHARDSON, Reginald John	X			X	X	X
ROSS, David		X			X	
SCHOLEFIELD, James	X	X			X	
SMITH, George Henry	X	X		X	X	X
TILLMAN, William	X	X			X	X
WHEELER, James	X	X	X		X	X
WHITTAKER, Thomas		X			X	X
WILLIS, William	X					
WROE, James	X				X	X

the fundamental realignment of Manchester Chartism after 1848, however, at least ten of the smaller number still active[33] advocated a middle-class alliance. As discussed in a later chapter, Richardson, Willis, Cooper, Smith, Whittaker and Heywood were involved in the still-born movement inspired by Joseph Hume's reform proposal (the so-called 'Little Charter' tabled in the House of Commons in June 1848); in 1850–51 Leach and Donovan's advocacy of an alliance with the middle class provoked a major schism in the local ranks which was exacerbated when Heywood and Scholefield, together with many veterans of the ACLL, played a leading role in the formation of a local branch of the PFRA.[34]

Manchester and Salford were characterised by stark social divisions which were reflected in the fact that the vast majority of the population failed to qualify for a vote under the restricted franchise. Given this it is not surprising that the 30 local Chartist leaders were predominantly working men. Their trades (listed in Table 8.4) ranged from handicrafts and other skilled trades to newer forms of factory employment. Although it is unwise to speak confidently about trends over a small survey, the presence of five shoemakers (Jackson, Murray, Smith, Tillman and Wheeler), the proverbial radical artisans, is significant. In a study of the preponderance of 'political shoemakers' in a range of political cultures, Eric Hobsbawm has pointed out that a shoemaker or mender was often self-employed; that he had contact with large numbers of 'humble' clients and was, consequently, less dependent than other craftsmen on 'patrons, wealthy clients and employers'.[35] This relative social and economic independence might also have applied to the two tailors, but was less likely in the case of the engraver, carpenter, joiner, painter and stonemason in the present survey. Manchester's status as 'cottonopolis', the cotton centre of the world, is also evident in the sample with two cotton-spinners and four power-loom weavers (weaving cotton, waterproofs and silk).[36]

More significant is the fact that the 'declining trades', the 'outworkers' that have often been regarded as the backbone of the Chartist movement,[37] had only one representative, Curran, a hand-loom weaver. This may reflect the fact that these trades had vanished more quickly in Manchester. The overwhelming working-class status of the group is also evident from their multifarious links with trade unionism. Fourteen of the group can be identified as active members of trade unions including at least seven (Campbell, Curran, Dean, Donovan, Doyle, Grocott and Richardson) who held some form of office in their respective unions and five (Bell, Hadfield, Donovan, Whittaker and Murray) who represented their trades at crucial meetings leading up to and during the Plug Plot strike of 1842. Even so this probably understates the involvement of Chartists in trade unions.

Apparently only two of the 30 in the group were unskilled 'labourers', nevertheless, terms such as 'elite' or 'labour aristocracy' are not appropriate. These men were typical of the labouring classes of Manchester and Salford where skills were not a guarantee against unemployment, under-employment and other economic difficulties. Poverty and hardship were present in the lives of many working-class Mancunians and are easily identified among the experiences of the 30 Chartist leaders.[38] Despite his later prosperity, Heywood, as he put it, had been 'born and bred in poverty'; Dean, Doyle and Wheeler were described as 'poor men', and Griffin and Cartledge, who was noted for his 'threadbare' coat, were reputed to be 'starving' in 1842.[39] During the 1840s Bell and his family were said to have 'suffered great privations', as did Butterworth whose family was reduced to living in one of the notorious cellars in Ancoats; Willis's bookselling business underwent dramatic fluctuations in fortune, and Richardson complained of 'heavy debts'. Similarly, Wroe spent time in the King's Bench Prison as a debtor during the 1820s, and Linney, having died in a workhouse, was buried in a pauper's grave.[40] Few Mancunians, however, could have endured a harder early life than Elijah Dixon. Dixon saw his elder brother buried in the pauper's burial ground at St Michael's in Manchester, and later, when he was forced out of factory work by ill-health, he saw his wife and children become inmates of the hated workhouse.[41] Cartledge, who lost an arm, was probably a victim of a factory accident, while Smith was an example of the tragic victims of industrial Britain who were known as 'factory cripples'.[42] At a time when the infant mortality rate in Manchester was the scandal of the age it is not surprising that at least three among the group (Scholefield, Leach and Griffin) had lost children.[43]

If these 30 local Chartist leaders were typically men of their class, they also shared experiences as a result of their involvement in politics which set them apart. One of the most common of these shared experiences was prison.[44] Of the 30, 25 suffered arrest (which often led to lengthy periods in prison awaiting bail or trial) and in most cases subsequently imprisonment at some time during their political careers (see Table 8.3). They experienced British justice during a period of transition from the eighteenth century penal system which was characterised by 'squalor and capricious cruelty', to a system, created under the influence of utilitarian ideas, for 'grinding men good'.[45] The extent of the change is the subject of debate among historians,[46] but without rehearsing these arguments we can build up a picture of the sort of conditions that confronted the Chartist prisoners.

With few exceptions, the Chartists in the sample were punished at either Lancaster Castle (built in Norman times) or one of Lancashire's Houses of

Correction at Preston (rebuilt in 1789), Salford (remodelled in 1790) and Kirkdale (opened in 1820).[47] A Chartist who shared a cell at Kirkdale in the late 1840s with Leach, Grocott, Donovan and others described the conditions as follows:[48]

> [the cells] are lofty, with arched roofs, and a small aperture to admit air over the door, and an iron-grated window in the front. There is no glass in this window, but wooden slides inside which close to. In the morning the bed clothing is quite wet, the blankets about our shoulders presenting the appearance of a field after drizzling rain or a heavy fall of dew.

According to Doyle, when he and Smith were first brought before the Governor at Preston Gaol he insisted that they 'remove their shoes and stockings and stand barefoot on the cold floor'. Doyle's refusal to obey this directive led to solitary confinement for three days and nights and a diet of 'scruffy', which consisted of meal mixed with water and resin.[49] Diet was the most important of Heywood's complaints about conditions at the Salford New Bailey in 1832:[50]

> If they are determined to kill me, they will do it effectually, for the food, with the exception of a little beef we have twice a week, Wednesday and Sunday, is not fit for pigs to eat. A few ounces of very brown bread, soft as clay and made with some deleterious matter, a quart of meal and water twice a day without salt, my stomach revolts....

As an inmate of Mill Bank Penitentiary (Staffordshire) during 1844, Linney was compelled to dress in a 'degrading uniform' and to labour over 14 hours a day making door mats. It is hardly surprising that many Chartist prisoners suffered failing health. Donovan, Grocott, Leach and Linney were all said to have been severely ill; Doyle emerged from a second prison term in December 1840 'extremely worn and emaciated'; Richardson was moved from Lancaster Castle to Kirkdale as a result of ill-health; and Smith saw out the expiration of his term at Preston in the prison infirmary after he had vomited blood.[51]

Chartist prisoners were highly esteemed as martyrs to the cause and liberation parades and celebrations became a staple Chartist ritual after 1840.[52] In return for the status which incarceration conferred on its victims, they spoke with a mixture of heroism, pride and braggadocio. Linney told an admiring audience in the month before his trial in 1840:[53]

> Prison for him had no terror; he already had a foretaste of it, and was prepared to say that he never spent six weeks with more pleasure in his life than the six weeks he passed in Kirkdale.

On his release Richardson boasted that 'they might prosecute him till doomsday but he would never alter' and from his prison cell, Jackson promised that he would 're-enter the fight of agitation with renewed vigour', although he had spent fifteen months 'continually exposed to the caprice of arbitrary sway'.[54] Doyle did nothing to diminish his reputation as an 'unflinching' and 'dungeon proof patriot', when he stated 'he felt proud that he had been able, under all the sufferings which he had endured, to maintain sufficient fortitude of mind'.[55]

If imprisonment enhanced the standing of Chartists in their community, it also provided some with an opportunity for self-improvement. In Chartist circles prison was often referred to as the 'Whig College',[56] and while this was part of the process of making light of the experience, it also reflected the fact that here was time for study which working men might otherwise find impossible to secure. All agreed that Butterworth had made great 'progress...in his studies during his nine months residence in the Whig College *alias* Lancaster Castle'. According to the Prison Inspector's report, Doyle's reading and writing improved greatly while he was in custody. Doyle himself was supposed to have said: 'I would not take £50 for what I have learnt.'[57] Other Chartists used this time for writing: Richardson wrote numerous lengthy epistles to newspapers as well as his treatise, *The Rights of Women*.

A brush with the law adversely affected some Chartist careers. Dean's involvement, for example, totally ceased, but in only two cases among the sample was the break abrupt and traumatic. Arrested and facing almost certain hardship in prison, Griffin and Cartledge were both induced to betray their 'old friends and colleagues to the minions of tyranny'. Their decision provoked a torrent of vitriolic abuse – Griffin was depicted as a 'wretched CAITIFF' a 'VILE MISCREANT' and a 'base and treacherous scoundrel', while Cartledge was held forth as a 'traitor' and a 'Government pal'.[58] Beyond the obvious, their motives remain obscure.[59] In fact, in the context of our limited information, there is nothing that can be identified to distinguish Griffin and Cartledge from others who faced the same fate but did not succumb. Griffin was in dispute with O'Connor immediately prior to his arrest, but this was an experience shared by other leading Chartists who did not go on to give evidence for the Crown. There was never a suggestion that either Griffin or Cartledge had acted in the loathed role of *agent provocateur* prior to their decision to collaborate with the authorities. Accusations of spying did surface, however, in relation to two others among the 30 local Chartists. Early in 1845 Leach made public allegations that the activities of the Manchester Chartists had been betrayed to the Government; he named Heywood as one 'agent' and Wheeler as another who 'reported to the Police

twice a day'.[60] Government records contain no evidence to incriminate Wheeler, but Heywood certainly had provided some confidential information during the Chartist crisis of 1839 – a role which was also divulged in an obscure debate in the House of Lords when the Government attempted to explain its failure to proceed with a prosecution against Heywood for publishing blasphemous tracts.[61] Neither man was damaged by these allegations.

Arrest and imprisonment were experiences which set this group of leaders apart from other members of their order. Even more important in this regard was the fact that most of them turned to the 'trade of agitation' (see Table 8.4). At some point, 26 of the 30 local Chartist leaders entered politics on a professional basis, seeking to earn a living (in part or full) as lecturers, booksellers, editors, journalists, officials and even as the hawkers and vendors of Chartist products. The development of the 'trade of agitation', a term that was used disparagingly at a time when the leisured gentleman provided the model for public life and the modern concept of paid political service had not yet won acceptance, has attracted little attention from historians.[62] On the one hand, contemporary commentators and historians of Chartism, from Frederick Engels to James Epstein, who have afforded a special place to the NCA as the first working-class party in history, have rarely broached the question of how this organisation was financed and how working men subsisted as full-time cadres.[63] Nor has the 'trade of agitation' been examined by more general historians of nineteenth-century British politics. Even H. J. Hanham, who describes the development of the 'fashionable' and increasingly respectable occupation of election agent in the late 1860s, only refers vaguely to individuals 'further down the social scale' who lived a shadowy 'disreputable' existence as lecturers and part-time election canvassers-cum-political hacks.[64]

As we have noted, the NCA was dominated by lecturers to the extent that it was remembered as the 'old lecturing association'. Among the 30 local leaders there were 17, who, at one time or another, derived an income from the punishing career of Chartist lecturer. These included some, such as Leach, Doyle, Cooper and Ross, who were reputed to be consummate performers. Others lived as journalists and writers, including Griffin, who was described by the *Manchester Times* as a 'man who manufactures falsehoods to obtain a paltry existence',[65] and Willis who at one time penned the 'speeches' of condemned criminals. Willis was also a radical bookseller. At any time during the Chartist years there were well over a dozen shops dealing in radical publications in Manchester and Salford, including those run by eight of the 30 local leaders (Heywood, Cooper, Wroe, Leach, Linney, Willis, Richardson and Campbell). These ranged from long-established and well-patronised landmarks to small and

Table 8.4 The Trade of Agitation

BELL, W.	Fustian-cutter	Lecturer
BUTTERWORTH, W.	Cotton-spinner	Lecturer/newsagent
CAMPBELL, J.	Power-loom weaver	Official/lecturer/ newsagent
CARTLEDGE, J.	Labourer/teacher	Official/bookseller
COOPER, J. R.	Bookseller	Bookseller
CURRAN, E.	Hand-loom weaver	Official/lecturer
DEAN, C.	Stonemason	Lecturer
DIXON, E.	Labourer/manufacturer	
DONOVAN, D.	Power-loom weaver	Official/lecturer
DOYLE, C.	Power-loom weaver	Official/lecturer
GRIFFIN, W.	Painter	Journalist/lecturer
GROCOTT, W.	Weaver	Official/lecturer
HADFIELD, G.	Cotton-spinner	
HEYWOOD, A.	Warehouseman	Newsagent/publisher
JACKSON, W.	Shoemaker	Preacher/lecturer
LEACH, J.	Labourer	Official/lecturer/ bookseller
LINNEY, J.	Power-loom weaver	Bookseller/lecturer
LITTLER, R.	Tailor	Lecturer
MURRAY, J.	Shoemaker	Official/Agent
NIGHTINGALE, E.	Publican	
RANKIN, T.	Engraver	Lecturer
RICHARDSON, R. J.	Carpenter	Newsagent/writer/ lecturer
ROSS, D.	?Teacher	Lecturer
SCHOLEFIELD, J.	Preacher/doctor/lecturer	
SMITH, G. H.	Shoemaker	Newsagent
TILLMAN, W.	Shoemaker	Official/lecturer
WHEELER, J.	Shoemaker	Printer/advertiser
WHITTAKER, T.	Joiner	Temperance Publican
WILLIS, W.	Errand boy/bookseller	Bookseller
WROE, J.	?Bookseller	Bookseller

often ephemeral concerns. Willis, for example, boasted a stock of over 50 000 volumes in his shop in Hanging Ditch; Richardson sold 300 *Northern Stars* every Saturday morning from his shop in Chapel Street, Salford; and at the most modest end of the spectrum there were small establishments such as Campbell's in Addersly Street, Salford, which survived from week to week on the sale of a meagre number of 50 *Stars*.[66]

By far the most successful was the newsagency and publishing business established by Heywood in Oldham Road, Manchester, in 1831. So successful was this venture that it has left enough evidence for the historian to cross the threshold of the shop and browse along the shelves of a business conducted on an impressive scale. In 1839 Heywood sold a staggering 30 to 40 thousand newspapers, pamphlets and books per week. A considerable part of this was Chartist material; during 1839–40 he sold an estimated 18 000 copies of the *Northern Star* each week.[67] The Chartist stock on Heywood's shelves was mingled with a wealth of literature that reflected a mosaic of other causes. Heywood was the publisher and or agent of well over a dozen periodicals ranging from the *Manchester and Salford Temperance Journal* to the *Social Pioneer*.[68] In a deposition to the Home Office, Heywood claimed that, in addition to selling 'many thousands of religious, scientific, literary and other books', he had also sold 1500 Bibles, 2000 Common Prayer Books and 1500 Testaments in 1839. The sales of Christian literature did not reassure the ever-vigilant Bishop of Exeter who denounced Heywood in the House of Lords as an 'habitual vendor of blasphemous literature' put out by the Owenites.[69] The Bishop had a point; a single edition of the *New Moral World* listed no less than 74 books and pamphlets for sale at Heywood's including a dozen or more works by Owen himself.[70]

Later in the 1840s a reporter from the *Morning Chronicle* found the shelves of Heywood's shop 'a literary chaos', crammed with 'masses of penny novels and comic song and recitation books' together with 'sectarian pamphlets and democratic essays':[71]

> Educational books abound in every variety. Loads of cheap reprints of American authors, seldom or never heard of amid the upper reading classes here, are mingled with editions of the early Puritan divines. Double-columned translations from Sue, Dumas, Sand, Paul Feval and Frederic Soubtie jostle with dream-books, scriptural commentaries, Pinnock's guides, and quantities of cheap music, Sacred Melodists and Little Warblers.

A reporter interested in other facets of working-class life would have found that Heywood's shop had far more to offer than even this profusion of books and periodicals. Tickets to practically every function in the working-class calendar from Chartist soirées and OACLA dinners to Owenite festivals and Temperance tea-parties were to be had at Heywood's. The counter was seldom without a subscription-box or two: for the Chartist National Rent; for the Defence fund to aid John Frost and the other Welsh Chartists facing treason charges; for the Chartist Victim

Fund (of which Heywood was national Treasurer); or for the relief of the victims of some local disaster.[72] Our reporter would have seen Crow and Tyrrell's Chartist breakfast-powder on sale, and he might even have found a few left-over bottles of Orator Hunt's 'Matchless Boot Blacking' for which Heywood was the agent earlier in the 1830s.[73]

As the Manchester agent for a Chartist product, Heywood was only one of several among the 30 local leaders who dabbled in the sale of items from the plethora of goods and all manner of paraphernalia that were paraded under the banner of Chartism during the 1840s. Rankin was the Manchester agent for a Chartist boot-blacking distributed by Roger Pinder, a Hull merchant; Leach was agent for Chartist scarves – a venture in which his business and political interests overlapped. As NCA President his numerous public appearances wearing his 'splendid' tri-colour silk scarf guaranteed him a roaring trade. A few weeks after going into business, a report of a meeting in Manchester noted that among the crowd many were distinguished 'by an Executive Scarf' which had been sold to local Chartist Associations at £2.10s. per dozen. Chartist Pills, guaranteed to 'avert much of the illness usually affecting the working classes', were very popular but, for those that they could not save, Scholefield offered Chartist funerals. After August 1842 Chartists who were laid to rest in his cemetery took their place alongside a massive monument to Henry Hunt of which the bereaved could purchase a 'very neat' China model.[74]

Peter McDouall was surely correct when he suggested that 'every agitation has, or will be more or less cursed by the company of selfish or designing men',[75] and some ventures represented nothing more than crass exploitation, but the point must be made that Chartism in Manchester and elsewhere drew much of its strength from this flourishing 'trade of agitation'. Activists for the most part could only be paid by what they could make from the movement. The proliferation of political occupations both reflected the sheer size of Chartism and helped to create it by placing the movement on a firmer organisational base. In some cases persecution left Chartists with little choice other than to make a living from the movement. This was the case with at least two among the 30 local Chartist leaders. Leach moved from the cotton industry into the world of politics after he had led the resistance to a wage reduction and was thereby no longer 'considered a fit person to enter a factory'; Butterworth emerged from prison in 1840 to find that he could not obtain employment in his trade of spinning. 'The fact is,' Campbell lamented in a public appeal on Butterworth's behalf, 'the factory tyrants of Manchester will not employ him under any consideration whatever.'[76] The abrasive class values of Manchester in the early 1840s were reflected in the unequivocal editorial of the Tory *Manchester Courier*:[77]

> We do not hesitate to pronounce our deliberate opinion that the mill-owner and employer of any class who knowingly tolerates an Owenite or chartist is guilty of treason to society and of suicide towards himself.

In this atmosphere of fear and persecution a notorious Chartist like Butterworth had no option but to look to the Chartist community for succour. Butterworth went on to establish himself as one of many Manchester agents for the *Northern Star* and as a lecturer on the South Lancashire circuit.

Chartists who practised the 'trade of agitation' faced constant suspicion and criticism. Stemming not only from the misrepresentations of their opponents, but also from a traditional notion of politics as the province of the independently wealthy and, it seems, from a grim view of human nature, the criticisms of paid agitators were legion. As the Manchester radical and trade unionist, John Doherty, pointed out in 1832:[78]

> there is the common – a sort of standing notion, in the public mind, and which is carefully fostered and propagated by all the arts and influence of the rich, – that every man who becomes a leader among the poor has some design upon their purse.

So prevalent was the critique of professional politicians that in 1839 it found its way into Benjamin Love's guidebook; in his *Handbook of Manchester* he wrote that when trade is bad and the operatives have 'an inclination to grow disorderly',[79]

> there is never wanting a 'leading spirit', more intellectual than the mass, who knows how to 'direct the storm', especially if he sees a prospect of deriving pecuniary emolument to himself, though it be at the expense of the poor.

Nor did this critique come solely from the avowed enemies of the movement; there were many radicals of the 'old school' who frowned upon paid agitators. In his *Passages in the Life of a Radical*, Samuel Bamford recalled that good orators 'left their work or their business, for a more profitable and flattering employment; tramping from place to place hawking their new fangles, and guzzling, fattening, and replenishing themselves, at the expense of the simple and credulous multitude'. Writing in the Chartist years, Bamford went on to argue that the payment of speakers was 'a bad practice...and gave rise to a set of orators who made a trade of speechifying, and the race has not become extinct'.[80] Despite the fact that Point 4 of the People's Charter echoed the long-standing radical call for the payment of MPs so that working men could enter politics on a full-time basis,[81] financial

'disinterestedness' and 'independence' were still powerful virtues in Chartist circles. The 'gentleman' leaders of radicalism owed much of their popularity to this factor. The monument erected by the Manchester Chartists to Henry Hunt, for example, was raised 'to perpetuate the name and fame of one of the most bold, most strenuous, most disinterested and most able advocates of LABOUR'S CAUSE'. As for O'Connor, 'Hunt's successor', while he recognised the problems – 'if you have an unpaid executive, you must have a purely middle class executive' – he boasted: 'your principal security lies in my being your UNPAID SERVANT'.[82]

The practical needs of the movement coupled with the growing working-class self awareness that characterised Chartism during the early 1840s did not sit well with the virtues of 'disinterestedness' and 'independence' which, in practical terms, made politics an avocation of the wealthy. This growing contradiction was no more evident than in the controversy that erupted between William Hill, editor of the *Northern Star*, and Campbell and Leach, following the publication of the NCA Balance Sheet in late 1842. Concerned over numerous items such as high travelling expenses, Hill penned a scathing editorial accusing Campbell, and later, Leach (and McDouall), of 'gross and plain jobbing'. Subsequently, Hill broadened his attack, firstly, by describing those local leaders who had defended the Executive as 'job seekers...fraternising with the jobbers' and 'money fingerers', 'who look anxiously for the Executive's cast slippers', and secondly by issuing an extremely provocative call for an 'unpaid executive': 'the inherent selfishness of human nature renders the best men unfit for an undue amount of confidence'.[83]

On one level the NCA controversy brought the credibility of the incumbent leadership into question. For Leach the affair provoked 'a great deal of noise about the shop that he kept' – a subject about which he felt compelled to speak to his Manchester comrades. In his defence he reiterated the reason for his entry into politics and with it the necessity that he undertake a business reliant upon politically-based patronage:[84]

> Three years ago he (Mr Leach) worked in a factory not more than three stones throw from the place he stood...he lost that situation for daring to expose the Factory System....

While Hill continued to pursue the matter, eventually branding Leach and Peter McDouall as liars and scoundrels, the worst excesses of the controversy were quelled with Campbell's resignation as Secretary and his subsequent emigration to North America. On another and more important level the contradiction between Hill's call for an 'unpaid Executive' and its implications for the leadership of a movement which demanded payment of

parliamentarians, continued to haunt the Chartists into the 1850s.[85] Throughout this time, however, many Chartists in Manchester and elsewhere continued to take the only practical resolution to the problem that confronted the first independent, nationwide movement of the working classes – they supported themselves by the 'trade of agitation'.

Forays into the uncertain world of professional politics were a defining characteristic of the 30 local leaders discussed, but what other features can be attributed to a composite? The typical local Chartist leader would have been aged 34 years old in 1840 and married with two or more children. He was not born in Manchester or Salford, but typically had resided there for a considerable number of years. If he was religious, he was probably a zealous 'radical Christian' for whom the cause was sanctioned in the Scriptures. The fact that the religious preference is not known in half the cases, however, may suggest that, like a growing number of Britons at this time, he did not see organised religion as a significant part of his life. He was self-educated and likely to be a teetotaller. He was probably an active trade unionist and may have been involved in local politics, although he is less likely to have held elected office at the local level. As a Chartist he was almost certainly a loyal and trusted supporter of O'Connor (less so as the 1840s wore on) and unlikely to have been involved in either William Lovett's 'New Move' or the NCSU. After 1848, however, there is a good chance that he advocated an alliance with the middle class. He is likely to have come from a skilled trade (not a declining trade), but poverty and hardship are equally likely to have intruded in his life, making descriptions such as 'labour aristocracy' inappropriate. He was set apart from his class by the fact that he was very likely to have suffered arrest and subsequent imprisonment, as well as by the fact that at some point he was also involved in the 'trade of agitation' on a full-time basis.

The prolific growth of the 'trade of agitation' in the Chartist years highlighted the changing requirements of working-class agitation both in scale and content. By the 1840s the tradition which saw the leadership of radicals conferred on 'gentlemen' was becoming well and truly superseded as growing working-class self-awareness fostered a determination among Chartists to place confidence in 'men of their own order'. Those individuals who sought to eke out a living within the Chartist community represented an attempt to translate this rhetoric into reality, but the prejudice against paid working-class agitators died hard. According to the Webbs, it was the mid-1870s before trade-union officials were not automatically dismissed as 'pothouse agitators, unscrupulous men, leading a half idle life, fattening on the contributions of their dupes' and in 1910, the year before the payment of MPs was finally conceded, the Chief Agent of the Liberal

Party, Robert Hudson, predicted that the 'suspicion' and 'fear' of professional politicians would be abandoned in 'the fullness of time'.[86] Although misrepresented and misunderstood, men like those among the 30 Chartist leaders who participated in the development of the 'trade of agitation', must be seen as pioneers in a formative and crucial phase in the transition to the modern system of paid servants of political causes.

9 Class without Words: Rank-and-File Communication in the Chartist Movement

In 1969 Dorothy Thompson suggested to a conference of Chartist historians that 'perhaps because so much of the material is in the [contemporary] journals, we have tended to look too little at other means of communicating ideas'.[1] Over twenty years later her comment stands largely unheeded, and a recent article on Chartist communication concentrates almost exclusively on newspaper articles, editorials and reported public speeches.[2] The following chapter attempts to widen the definition of communication by developing two strategies for examining the ideology of the movement. First, there is an analysis of the inscriptions and pictorial representations on the banners and flags carried by the Chartist rank-and-file of Manchester and Salford in six major parades between 1838 and 1842. Second, attention will be drawn to the language of face-to-face interaction in public and what may be called the 'presentation of self'[3] by leaders who were responding to the expectations of the led. By so doing it will attempt to develop a methodology that takes account of the representative structure of Chartism and the repeated claims of the leaders that they voiced the aspirations of the people. This section will also contribute to the long-standing debate among historians about the place of class in the language of the movement.

If we are to see the contribution made by the Chartist rank-and-file to the ideology of the movement, we must first recognise that language is a social action performed in a variety of contexts. It is not enough to say, as Gareth Stedman Jones has done, that 'an analysis of Chartist ideology must start from what Chartists actually said or wrote, the terms in which they addressed each other and their opponents'.[4] At the very least we must distinguish between, on the one hand, the newspaper articles which were produced by a comparatively small group of activists, and, on the other hand, the reports of public meetings where the mass following was to be found. The importance of the public meeting at all levels of movement cannot be over-estimated. This is not to belittle the role of the Chartist newspapers, but it was noticeable that leading Chartists – even those who had easy access to the press – went out on hectic speaking tours to meet

their followers face-to-face on the hustings. Henry Vincent, the editor of the *Western Vindicator,* boasted that he had spoken 'above two hours a day for thirteen months', and even Bronterre O'Brien, the foremost literary figure in the movement, often appeared in public.[5]

But above all, it was Feargus O'Connor who excelled as an itinerant platform orator. The following is only one amongst many reports of his whistle-stop tours around Britain:[6]

> From the 18th of December to the 15th of January, I have attended in London, Bristol, Manchester, Queenshead, Bradford, Leeds, Newcastle, Carlisle, Glasgow, Paisley, and Edinburgh, 22 large public meetings, and have travelled over 1500 miles....

After more than a decade of fulfilling this punishing programme O'Connor boasted to a Manchester audience, with some justification, that he had 'attended more public meetings than any man that ever lived'.[7] This devotion to the public meeting as a medium of communication, on the part of the man who owned the most important Chartist newspaper, is very significant. O'Connor was, as Francis Place described him, the 'constantly travelling dominant leader';[8] he never let the columns of the *Northern Star* alone convey his message. By spending of much of his time visiting the numerous Chartist localities, O'Connor not only provided the style of leadership best suited to the needs of the movement, but he demonstrated by his actions a recognition that communication in the Chartist movement had to be conducted in person. It was at the public meeting that the rank-and-file displayed their banners and flags; it was here that leader and follower met face-to-face.[9]

Few historians have given much attention to the inscriptions and pictorial representations on the banners and flags carried in demonstrations and parades,[10] but their importance in popular politics was evident to radicals and the authorities alike. It was no accident that Peterloo commenced with the command to the Yeomanry Cavalry to 'have at their banners', and any student of the vivid recollections of one of the victims, Samuel Bamford, knows that the contest for them continued throughout that fateful day in 1819.[11] Those Peterloo banners which survived were regarded as sacred relics and often took pride of place among the banners and flags carried by the local Chartists.[12]

The preparation of banners and flags was an important aspect of rank-and-file activity. Some were manufactured by the members of the association themselves[13] and others, usually those with more elaborate designs, were commissioned works of art purchased with money scrimped and saved by branch members; one local banner at Kersal Moor in September 1838

was reputed to have cost the MPU all of £50 to produce.[14] The quest for bigger and more elaborate banners generated some friendly rivalry among local branches and even between the sexes. As the *Northern Star* reported:[15]

> Hurrah for the Women of Manchester!...They have purchased a piece of canvas, which measures eight feet by seven, and engaged a first-rate portrait painter to paint a full length likeness of that gentleman [O'Connor]....

Not to be outdone, the 'bonny lads of Manchester':[16]

> finding that the ever-to-be-respected females of that town had stolen a march upon them in getting up a painting of Feargus...have...engaged the same artist to paint a full length likeness of J.B. O'Brien....

Once completed, banners fulfilled several functions. In some cases they were decorations for local association rooms and meeting halls.[17] During parades they served to catch the eye of a journalist, to impress other groups or their opponents, to advertise a local presence, or as a public expression of a collective identity. Typically, newspaper reports referred to 'district associations' 'preceded by bands of music, [and] flags, explanatory of their name, locality and objects'.[18] After the parade, flags and banners were often arrayed around the perimeter of the meeting, serving as a demarcation of the radical ground. Perhaps the most important function of banners was as a medium for the expression of ideology. A historian, Gwyn Williams, has warned that a 'banner needs to be studied with...loving care' and an 'eye for realistic detail and symbolic meaning',[19] and the place of banners and flags in the language of Chartism was acknowledged by the *Northern Star* itself which noted at the outset of a report of a meeting:[20]

> We give the mottos upon their several banners, which are more explanatory of their condition, their feelings, their knowledge of right and detestation of wrong, and their determination, than if we were to write volumes.

What then did the Manchester and Salford Chartists say through their banners and flags? Over the course of the six major episodes under consideration,[21] the rank-and-file members in Manchester and Salford displayed a tremendous range of terse ideological statements on their banners and flags. Claims of over three hundred banners in a parade were commonplace – according to a reporter, to record the mottos on the banners at O'Connor's liberation march through the streets of Manchester, for example, would have 'filled three columns of the *Star*'.[22] By careful cross-checking of the

reports of the six events in the Chartist and the Manchester press, it is possible to compile a comprehensive record of 44 of the banners carried by the 'blistered hands' of the Manchester and Salford Chartists (see Appendix C).[23] The mottos on the 44 banners and flags can be categorised under one (or more) of the following headings: structural political demands; historical associations; general social principles (including religious views); patriotic declarations; opposition to Government policies; economic principles; and support for Chartist heroes, and other demands arising from the conduct of the Chartist struggle.

Not surprisingly, a sizeable number of banners and flags (twelve) detailed the demands for structural political reform in the People's Charter or variations thereof: from the standard 'Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, Vote By Ballot', 'Universal Suffrage, Short Parliaments, Equitable Adjustment' and 'Universal Suffrage and No Surrender', to the less common 'If we are too ignorant to make laws, we are too ignorant to obey them' and 'Down with every faction that is opposed to the rights and liberties of the people'. A related group of ten banners celebrated Chartist heroes: Frost, Williams and Jones, the 'Welsh Patriots' transported for their part in the Newport uprising; liberated Chartists, including McDouall, O'Brien, William Benbow and other Manchester Chartist prisoners; and, finally, reflecting Manchester's status as an O'Connorite stronghold, four separate banners paying tribute to O'Connor, the 'Champion of the Peoples' Rights'. Several of the banners highlight the way in which Chartists saw their struggle as part of a historical continuum. The banner of O'Brien emphasised his period as editor of the *Poor Man's Guardian* during the early 1830s; one of the O'Connor banners depicted the departed Henry Hunt above him in the clouds entreating the leader of the next generation of radicals to 'lead my people on to victory'. Other banners evoked purely historical resonances: one celebration of Hunt, 'the man who never deserted the people'; three references to the 'foul deeds of Peterloo' in 1819, as well as direct references to *La Revolution Française* in the form of two 'blood red Caps of Liberty', and a Tricolour bearing an inscription invoking Tom Paine's 'Rights of Man'. The banner which best encapsulated the tremendous importance of the struggles of the past, however, was emblazoned with a quotation from Byron's *The Giaour*:[24]

> Freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won.

One further group of related banners can only be described as attempts to define the Chartist cause as a patriotic one. The repeated use of the Rose,

Harp and Thistle reflected the Chartists' perception of themselves as a nation-wide movement. The association of the cause of 'the people' with the nation, and by implication the good of the nation, was further evident on three banners bearing the phrase borrowed from Lafayette: 'For a Nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it'.[25] One large scarlet flag bore the 'Royal Arms of England', but the Royal motto, '*Dieu et mon Droit*', was parodied on another flag that demanded: 'God and our rights'. The claim to a higher morality and a purer patriotism was best displayed in a banner of the MPU. This flag of defiance depicted 'Britannia seated on a rock, trampling on the Chains of Despotism, holding in her right hand the trident of Neptune, surmounted by a Cap of Liberty, and in her left hand the "People's Charter", while the British Lion rouses to maintain the Charter'. The reverse of the banner underscored the patriotic claim by appropriating (and augmenting) Nelson's signal to the fleet before Trafalgar: 'England expects that, THIS DAY, every man will do his duty'.

Thus far we have looked at banners which contained the bedrock political demands of Chartism and expressions of view related to the struggle for structural political reform. Another group of banners outlined a range of economic principles. These Chartists saw society divided into 'us' and 'them', with 'us' described variously as 'labour', the 'productive classes', the 'producers of wealth' and the 'sons of industry', and two specific references to 'them' as 'those who make the chains of slavery' and 'those who do not work'. The prevalence of this sort of terminology in early-nineteenth-century radical discourse led one historian, Asa Briggs, in his study of the language of class, to identify 'an influential social cross current which directed attention not to the contrasting fortunes and purposes of "middle classes" and "working classes" but to a different division in industrial society, that between "the industrious classes" and the rest'.[26] The division of society into producers and parasites had been common to Cobbett, Carlile, Owen, and Hodgskin but, as Patricia Hollis has argued, as the 1830s wore on, the terms working classes, productive classes and useful classes became interchangeable.[27] The Manchester and Salford Chartists did not number the captains of industry among the 'industrious classes'. It was no accident, for example, that at least three of the parades under consideration in this section marched past the citadel of Manchester capitalism, the Exchange. When the Committee organising the liberation parade for McDouall and Collins boasted that their demonstration would 'strike terror to the tyrant's hearts' they had in mind those they jeered at as the 'nobs' in the Exchange.[28] The distinction between the 'productive' and the 'unproductive' classes then was not in contrast to, but a version of a class analysis.

Having divided society into producers and consumers, the next step was to question the equity of that division. While it is rightly unfashionable to reduce Chartism to a 'knife and fork question' or the 'blind revolt of hunger',[29] the banners of the rank-and-file are a reminder that economic grievances were a crucial undercurrent in the ideology of the movement. In economic terms the banners and flags contain a resounding call for greater equality in the distribution of wealth. This call took several forms: a reference to 'equality' as 'First Law of Nature – First Want of Man – Chief Bond of Our Association', and two statements of the long-standing radical nostrum, 'Labour, the source of all Wealth',[30] which were given a redistributive edge when placed alongside the demand that 'the producers of wealth should be the first consumers'. The latter was not the only adaption of a Biblical parable – the banners also contained two versions of the warning: 'He that will not work, neither shall he eat'.[31] The use of Biblical lessons was not surprising given the number of radical Christians in the ranks of the local movement. These Chartists also carried a banner proclaiming 'This is Our Charter, God is Our Guide'. The call for 'More Pigs and Less Parsons' on another banner was not a rejection of Christianity but, as a reference to the exploitation of the lesser tithes by the clergy, was a condemnation of the Anglican Church.

Other banners proclaimed the Chartist opposition to policies of the Whig government: 'Repeal of the New Poor Law' and 'Repeal of the Union [with Ireland]'. Along with those articulating particular concerns were the all-encompassing 'Down With Class Legislation' and the condemnatory 'A Government that neglects the physical and moral wants of the people ought not to exist'. Taken together, the banners carried by the Manchester and Salford rank-and-file highlight what E. P. Thompson has called a 'generalisation of grievance centred around the need for political reform':[32]

> The line from 1832 to Chartism is not a haphazard pendulum alternation of 'political' and 'economic' agitations but a direct progression, in which simultaneous and related movements converge towards a single point. This point was the vote.

Chartism captured the hearts and minds of a generation of working people because it was seen as the answer to a litany of questions. Typically the Chartist mechanics of Manchester asked 'What is the Remedy ?':[33]

> Repeal of the [New] poor law, the rural police law, the game law, the money, or the corn law, or any single law on the Statute Book, and leave the root of evil untouched, and you will only be dabbling with the

> effects of class legislation....We must go to the root of the evil....Our plan, our remedy, our cure, our panacea, is the People's Charter....

A banner carried by the Manchester Chartists in 1843 made the same point with greater economy: 'The Charter the Means – Social Happiness the End'.[34]

Most Chartist parades climaxed with a public meeting at which the local and often national leaders addressed the crowd. In addition to a recognition of the particular problems of how these speeches were rendered in the columns of the press,[35] it is important to recognise that oratory was a social action involving speaker and audience in an interactive relationship, and not an ideological monologue that for all intents and purposes could well have been written. Unlike editorials and newspaper articles which elicited little or no response from the rank and file, speeches were constantly interrupted with cries of objection or approbation which were indicative of independent rank-and-file opinion and expectation to which prominent Chartists often had to defer.[36] A willingness to succumb to the pressure of audience expectation seems to have been a common attribute. Richard Cobden informed Joseph Sturge that he would not employ former Chartists in public agitation because they were too easily 'carried away by their audiences',[37] and Chartists referred to the same characteristics: O'Connor told William Lovett in 1842, 'I don't lead, I am driven by the people', and Thomas Cooper saw the demagogue as 'rather the people's instrument than their director'.[38] The Newcastle Chartist, Robert Lowery, accounted for this aspect of Chartist oratory in his autobiography:[39]

> speaking consisted of that kind which is ever the most eloquent and impressive to the feelings of the multitude, where speaker and audience are one in feeling and desire. The speaker only gives vent to the hearers' emotions. His words at once find a response in their wishes.

For Lowery therefore, audience expectation was the most powerful influence on his performance and he allowed it free play as he travelled around the regions: at the meeting in militant Newcastle which saw him elected to the 1839 Convention, for example, he was introduced as the delegate who would resist the 'moral force old women' that would 'attempt to swamp the Convention'. After such an introduction, it is not surprising that he should urge his Newcastle audience to 'support the National Holiday and collect muskets in self-defence'.[40] During the Convention, however, Lowery spoke as a moderate giving rise to George Julian Harney's lament that some members of the Convention had 'one set of speeches for the north, [and] another set of speeches for the metropolis'.[41] What Harney saw

as a form of hypocrisy, Lowery defended as a form of democratic control involving the rank-and-file of the movement in a complex mutual relationship of expectation, performance and response.

If the Chartist leader was under continual pressure to satisfy the expectations of his audience, it would be a mistake to assume that this was accomplished by words alone. In fact, for some Chartists the speeches were of relatively little importance; at least this was the impression given at the massive Chartist gathering on Kersal Moor in September 1838 when, towards the end of proceedings, several speakers were interrupted in mid-sentence by various bands that struck up in preparation for the march home.[42] Although leaders like O'Connor were probably treated with more reverence,[43] even they could communicate orally at the massive meetings only with the small percentage of the audience able to obtain a position within earshot. According to the Chartist marshal for the event, R. J. Richardson, of the estimated 200 000 present at Kersal Moor in 1838, 'many had not the opportunity of hearing'.[44] Radicals had long been aware of this problem. On St Peter's Field in Manchester in August 1819, for example, the hustings were moved so that Orator Hunt did not have to speak into a strong wind.[45]

Speaking with, rather than against the wind offered only a partial solution, but the ineffectiveness of oral communication did not mean that the mass crowds were thereby precluded from involvement or response; communication from the platform was simply conducted by different means. Again organisers demonstrated an awareness of this problem – Kersal Moor was chosen as a suitable venue because the crowd could 'see all that passed' and Stevenson Square in Manchester offered 'the roofs of the houses', 'the windows', 'even the lamp-posts' 'from which a view could be obtained'.[46] To provide a spectacle for those who could see, but not hear, many Chartist leaders supplemented their performance with visual communication.

In demonstrating a concern for visual communication, Chartists were in keeping with a long-standing tradition of popular politics. Chartist agitators inherited numerous images and emblems of popular iconography which they could incorporate into their public performance. Among this extensive range of symbols we might include the traditional English radical colour of green, the red Cap of Liberty of the French Revolution[47] and, most importantly in the pre-Chartist era, the White Hat made famous by Henry Hunt. Hunt's hat came to symbolise all he stood for and, in the aftermath of Peterloo, it was widely adopted as the emblem of the popular radical movement.[48] A London radical, Thomas Teulon, even took it as the title of his periodical, *The White Hat*, in October 1819:[49]

> No one, it is hoped, will quarrel with the title of this paper, or think it an unapt emblem of the principles which we are neither afraid or ashamed to avow, and which we hope yet to see greatly triumphant. The WHITE HAT, worn by so many steady and dedicated patriots, battered by the bludgeons of special constables, slashed by the sabres of Yeomanry Cavalry, the horror of paid magistrates, and welcomed by the applauding shouts of hundreds of thousands of people, is become a badge too explicit to be mistaken....

Teulon was a comparatively moderate radical who disliked Hunt personally, but his choice of the White Hat is the more significant for that: he saw it as an ideological statement in itself.[50] A similar response at the grassroots of the movement was noted by a Congregational pastor at Leigh in Lancashire in February 1820. Concerned over an upsurge of radicalism in the town, he exhorted his congregation 'to patience and peace'. Clearly this sermon was not well received:[51]

> My hopes were disappointed. Almost all the weavers, the poorest part especially, were offended. White hats were instantly worn as flags of defiance.

So potent did the White Hat become as a symbol of radicalism, that it persisted in radical politics beyond Hunt's death in 1835.[52]

Symbolic appurtenances, colours and modes of appearance performed several important communicative functions in radical political culture. First, they served as what sociologists have called 'mnemotechnic aids': a White Hat, for example, would have served to evoke the memory of Hunt.[53] Secondly, they acted as marks of differentiation or expressions of group solidarity. Thirdly, and closely related, symbols were effective as a form of social or cultural shorthand, a public mode of communication.[54] In terms of the notion of personality offered by Clifford Geertz – how people 'represent themselves to themselves and to one another'[55] – sporting a White Hat like Hunt's was both a statement that signified an individual's identification with certain values, and a public statement intended to convey this affiliation 'at a glance'. A congruent outward appearance thus provided the individual with an important medium through which to communicate his views. William Cobbett, famous for his admiration of England's rural past, appeared in public dressed in the garb of a traditional country squire. As Bamford recalled: 'he was the perfect representation of what he always wished to be: an English gentleman farmer'.[56] For Cobbett, Hunt and subsequently O'Connor, who were often the centre of the visual spectacle of a public meeting, the presentation of self was of

crucial importance as a means of communication. It is not surprising then, that, like his predecessors, O'Connor should strike upon a uniform to display his public personality.

O'Connor made his first appearance in Manchester and Salford in his most famous public uniform on Monday 27 September 1841 when he participated in a parade to mark his liberation from York Castle a month earlier. From early in the morning of the 27th Chartists from all over Manchester and surrounding villages began to gather at the appointed rendezvous, Stevenson Square; at half-past-one, an 'immense throng' headed in procession across Manchester to the Crescent in Salford where, at two o'clock, they met Feargus O'Connor as he arrived in a triumphal carriage from Eccles, four miles away.[57] 'The oldest man living', reported the *Northern Star* on the following Saturday, 'remembers not a scene even in that important town [Manchester] equal to what was presented on Monday last',[58] no small claim in a city which had sent the Blanketeers on their way to London in 1817, had witnessed Peterloo in 1819 and Kersal Moor in 1838. O'Connor was dressed in a suit of fustian, the same suit which he had premiered on his release from his 'Whig dungeon' in late August. At that time he explained the symbolism of his dress to the assembled crowd:[59]

> I have appeared, Brother Chartists and working men, amongst you in fustian, the emblem of your order, in order to convince you, at a single glance, that what I was when I left you, the same I do return to you.

Although it is unlikely that this explanation was heard by many of those gathered to celebrate with him in York, it is equally unlikely that the significance of the suit of fustian was lost on many who saw him. In fact it was a more effective statement than anything he could have hoped to shout at the top of his 'powerful baritone voice'.[60] O'Connor's identification with the fustian of everyday working-class life was a terse statement that could not easily be misrepresented: as with Hunt's Hat it was 'a badge too explicit to be mistaken'. Even the *Manchester Guardian*, which was implacably hostile to Chartism, noted that 'Feargus was dressed in a fustian jacket and trousers, in order that he might appear as much as possible to be "a man of the people"'. Thus O'Connor's message was effective in this most unlikely venue.[61]

Some Chartists, such as William Lovett, were of the opinion that too much effort had been wasted on 'foolish displays and gaudy trappings',[62] but if Lovett underestimated the importance of symbolic protest, the social historian must not.[63] The symbolic language of fustian takes us to the heart of a recurrent debate among Chartist historians, the place of class in the

ideology of the movement; for by donning his suit of fustian O'Connor was making a point that undercuts a common assumption about his career as a Chartist leader. Starting with Gammage's *History* and continuing through the writing of Hovell, West, Soffer and Ward, he has been depicted as a man of aristocratic status, a 'Tory-radical', 'Irish squireen' who pushed Lovett and the class-conscious leaders aside and enjoyed the blind allegiance of unskilled workers: 'not yet prepared economically or psychologically for independence or class action'.[64] No one would deny the patronising tone of much of O'Connor's public performance. This was evident in his repeated references to his financial independence, his education, his pretensions to Irish royal ancestry and the countless times he recalled his personal sacrifices in the cause of the people.[65] Early in his career in English radical politics, this paternalism was reflected in his appearance in public as the unmistakable gentleman. Recording his first impression of O'Connor in 1836, a Barnsley radical described his appearance as 'decidedly aristocratic. He wore a blue frock coat and a buff waist coat and had rings on the fingers of each hand.'[66]

At the gates of York Castle and before the 'immense throng' at Manchester and elsewhere, however, not only did a fustian-jacketed leader symbolically renounce his gentlemanly status, and thus his right to lead by that status alone, but he entirely departed from the traditional pattern of symbolic ritual by adopting an item of clothing peculiar to working men. The contrast to Hunt's White Hat is worthy of emphasis. By wearing the White Hat as a 'flag of defiance', the poor weavers of Leigh, like so many working-class radicals in that era, displayed an emblem that signified specific political principles. It was not, however, a badge of 'class': a White Hat could as easily befit a gentleman.[67] As such, this emblem summarised important characteristics of radicalism in the early nineteenth century; a time when 'gentlemen' leaders – Major Cartwright, Cobbett and Hunt himself – had led the people in a movement founded on the critique of 'Old Corruption'. By altering the social priorities of the previous generation and dressing down to the rank-and-file, O'Connor physically embodied the development of an exclusively working-class radicalism during the 1830s, a decade which saw the 'class legislation' of the 'cotton lords' displace 'Old Corruption' as the central focus of popular antagonism and 'the people' become synonymous with the working classes.[68] Herein lay the central significance of fustian – it was an unmistakable emblem of 'class'. Into the cloth was woven the shared experiences and identity of working-class life.

Not only does the symbolic language of fustian allow us to appreciate the vast difference between Chartism of the early 1840s and the radicalism

of the previous generation, but the exclusively working-class radicalism it so effectively symbolised allows us to improve our understanding of both the internal divisions within the movement and the relationship between Chartism and other contemporary movements. Some Chartists could not accept fustian or what it symbolised. By 1846 Lovett went so far as to mock O'Connor: for him fustian jackets, unshorn chins and blistered hands had always meant 'unwashed faces, unshorn chins and dirty habits'.[69] But for the Chartist majority – from the correspondents to the *Northern Star* who adopted the byline 'one of the fustian jackets' to the groups of Chartists who, dressed in their fustian, invaded the local Anglican Church at a time when appropriate clothing was *de rigueur* for churchgoing – fustian had become a uniform for 'class' confrontation.[70] The leaders of the largely middle-class ACLL were certainly aware of this. They too wished to speak for the working class, but found that their clashes with the Chartists were often described as confrontations between 'fustian and broadcloth'.[71] To counter this, Richard Cobden took great care to ensure that the League too could present its audiences with 'several speakers in fustian coats'.[72]

Ultimately it is important to see O'Connor's dramatic break with the symbolic language of the previous generation of radicals as a recognition of the expectations of his followers. The suit came as the culmination of a process of identification with working-class attributes that O'Connor had been undertaking during many preceding months in his public speeches and his contributions to the *Northern Star* which he had consistently addressed to the 'fustian jackets, blistered hands and unshorn chins'.[73] Nowhere was the identification with the suit of fustian more meaningful than in Manchester, the place where it was made. As the *Northern Star* reported:[74]

> Mr O'Connor was habited, as he had promised, in fustian. He wore a full suit, made out of one piece which had been manufactured expressly for the occasion, and was presented by those who had not only his welfare at heart, but were imbued with his principles, and with his spirit – the blistered hands and fustian jackets of Manchester.

Local Chartist leaders recognised the power of the working-class uniform. Edward Curran, for example, lived by the 'trade of agitation' as a Union official and Chartist lecturer, but he continued to dress as a hand-loom weaver long after he had left their impoverished ranks. John Campbell was a power-loom weaver who had turned bookseller and full-time NCA Secretary, but he too emphasised that he was still 'one of yourselves, a hard working man, a fustian jacket'. Another popular local figure, James

Scholefield, clergyman though he was, also represented himself to the local Chartists as 'a working man like themselves, and at times wore fustian, and he considered that the character of a labouring man was the greatest honour he could possess'.[75] The significance of fustian to the local rank-and-file was no more evident than when it was depicted on one of their banners. The banner commissioned by the 'Women of Manchester' featured a 'full-length likeness' of O'Connor:[76]

> dressed in fustian, with the People's Charter in his hand. At a short distance behind him appear a large assemblage of people, the males dressed in fustian....

If, in this way, the suit became a bond of unity between the popular leader and his followers, it was one that had been negotiated on entirely new terms. The growing redundancy of 'gentlemen' leaders was emphasised by William Martin, a Bradford Chartist, at the meeting that followed O'Connor's liberation parade. Although 'the people' retained their confidence in O'Connor because he was an 'honest aristocrat', 'it was clear now', observed Martin, 'that the people were determined to place confidence in men of their own order'.[77] By appearing in a suit of fustian, O'Connor had therefore forestalled an implied threat to his leadership. Although it did not make him a workman, it was an unmistakable indication of his sympathy with the class-conscious expectations of his followers. Later that day at the liberation *soirée*, he again paid homage to his supporters:[78]

> allow me, in the first instance, to return those delegates, who have come from a distance to attend this meeting, my warmest gratitude, and heart felt thanks, and through them allow me to return thanks to those who sent them here, – (hear, hear) – the fustian jackets, the blistered hands, and the unshorn chins – the poor – (cheers) – those who are, in fact, an ornament to their country....

In his study of the 'public political language' of Chartism, Gareth Stedman Jones rekindled the debate regarding the class characteristics of the movement. Although he was correct when he referred to the absence of a 'class based language of socialism'[79] in Chartist ideology, the emergence of fustian as the symbolic *lingua franca* of the mass movement conflicts with his corollary that Chartism did not breach the 'basic presuppositions' of the political ideology it inherited.[80] Fustian represented a new-found working-class consciousness in popular radicalism that had been forged in the bitter experiences of the 1830s, a social polarisation referred to in E. P. Thompson's well-known statement that 'the middle

class Radical and idealist intellectual were forced to take sides between the two nations'.[81] More recently, in his attempt to supplant 'class' with 'populism' after 1848, Patrick Joyce has pointed to the continuing role of 'gentleman' leaders in popular radicalism. Along the way (and despite it being outside his chronology) Joyce dismisses fustian as a symbol of class in a footnote.[82] It would be a mistake, however, to assume that new insights (such as they are) into the period after 1848 apply to the early years of militant Chartism.[83] For the appearance of Feargus O'Connor dressed as a working man was surely one of the most significant public declarations of the early 1840s: it was a statement of class without words.[84]

10 Keeping the Faith

At two o'clock on a bleak winter's afternoon, Saturday 30 January 1869, the funeral cortège for Ernest Jones began to congregate at his residence in Wellington Street, Higher Broughton, a northern suburb of Manchester. Jones, the last of the national leaders of militant Chartism, a founding member of the Working Men's International and a confidant of Marx and Engels, had resided in Manchester since 1861 with his wife and three sons. At a quarter to three, by which time a large crowd had assembled, the procession moved off at a slow pace. Four 'old Chartists' – described also as 'Peterloo Veterans' – acted as mutes ahead of the funeral van; next came Mr Higham's Brass Band playing the Dead March. This was followed by as many as sixty carriages and a 'large number, probably 1,000, citizens' walking six abreast – a figure which swelled considerably as the cortège proceeded along its three-mile route via Strangeways, Market Street and London Road to Ardwick Cemetery, across the river Medlock in southern Manchester. Among those riding in the carriages were a range of local dignitaries, deputations from political and trade organisations as well as representatives from nearly fifty towns and villages. It was estimated that the procession took a full half-hour to pass any given point and all along the route the streets were densely packed with spectators – 'for the most part of the working class' – who had come to see what one commentator called the 'last Chartist demonstration'. After two hours the procession reached the Cemetery gates where the coffin was carried in by the four 'old Chartists' with a host of local political celebrities acting as pall-bearers. After the service, as Jones's body was lowered into the cold ground of Ardwick, Edmond Beales, Secretary of the predominantly working-class Reform League, lamented the loss of 'one of the world's greatest patriots'.[1]

Jones's funeral was widely reported, but one aspect of its historical significance attracted no comment; among the pall-bearers were representatives of two distinct and often conflicting political traditions who would not have participated together in such a scene twenty-five or thirty years earlier. The representatives of the first tradition were headed by Sir Elkanah Armitage – elder statesman of liberal politics in Manchester, wealthy mill-owner, founding member of the ACLL, former Boroughreeve of Salford and Mayor of Manchester who had earned his knighthood for overseeing the military preparations against the threat of Chartist insurrection in 1847–48. This tradition was also represented by

two Liberal members of the House of Commons, Jacob Bright MP, and T. B. Potter MP as well as by Henry Rawson, a successful stockbroker, long-time chairman of the Manchester Stock Exchange and liberal candidate for Salford.[2] These men represented 'broadcloth'.

The other tradition, the one with which we have been principally concerned in this book, was represented by two old men among the pall-bearers: Abel Heywood and Elijah Dixon. As we have seen, Dixon had become a 'democrat' at the age of 15 during the French wars, a decision that saw him taken to London in double irons for his part in the Blanketeers March of 1817, and Heywood, who had cut his political teeth in the campaign for a free press, had suffered imprisonment for selling the *Poor Man's Guardian* in 1832. They were men of humble birth for whom hardship had bred a fierce independence. During the struggle for the Reform Bill in 1832 Dixon had warned the middle-class leadership of the agitation in Manchester that 'the working classes could do without them'.[3] By the end of the decade his Chartist friends were attempting to prove him right; their faith was expressed in the catch-cry 'The Charter and No Surrender'. This motto reflected the sense of betrayal that many working-class radicals felt in the aftermath of the 1832 Act which reached a crescendo when Lord John Russell ruled out any further instalments of democratic reform in 1837; it captured the Chartist suspicion of the middle-class agitation for repeal of the corn laws after 1838; and, it expressed their determination to pursue an independent agitation free from middle-class influence and compromise. 'No Surrender' meant no surrender to men such as Armitage, the 'capitalist Knight', who enjoyed a special place in Chartist demonology.[4] These men were the 'fustian jackets'.

At Jones's graveside these two traditions did not face each other as equals; the 'last Chartist demonstration' in Manchester marked the final incorporation of the remnants of independent working-class Chartism into the mainstream of mid-nineteenth-century liberalism. Jones was a middle-class barrister, but he had been regarded as O'Connor's successor because he, too, articulated the interests of the 'fustian jackets' and, for most of his public career, totally rejected an alliance with 'broadcloth': 'the capitalists of all kinds will be our foes as long as they exist', he wrote in 1851, 'Therefore, we MUST have class against class – that is, all the oppressed on the one side, and all the oppressors on the other. *An amalgamation of classes is impossible where an amalgamation of interests is impossible also.*'[5] Shortly before settling in Manchester, however, Jones began to resile from this position. By the time of the first election under the 1867 Reform Act, he stood before the newly-extended Manchester electorate as

a 'United Liberal', arm in arm with Jacob Bright, who shared the reforming creed of his more famous brother and was associated with the Gladstonian wing of the Liberal Party, and Thomas Bazley, known as 'milk and water' Bazley for his support of the thoroughly moderate policies of Palmerston and the Whig grandees. In a gesture packed with symbolism, Armitage took charge of their joint election committee. Jones had finally accepted the middle-class embrace, but his new campaign-manager was less successful in sending him to Westminster than he had been in sending him to prison in 1848: in a field of six Jones ran second last.[6] Thus his political death had occurred two months before his physical demise.

The death of Chartism had not been sudden, although the halcyon days of the early 1840s were over quickly, and the movement was soon characterised by division, decline and defeat. The symptoms of atrophy first became evident in 1842–43. During 1842 the federal structure of Manchester Chartism began to collapse. Although some of the local rooms remained open into 1843, the diminishing core of activists decided to centralise the movement into one branch located at Carpenters' Hall and, later, at the People's Institute in Heyrod Street, Ancoats.[7] The pattern of activities established in the years 1840–42 continued – in January 1845, for example, there were still 700 students attending the Chartist school – but the ability to attract a mass following had declined sharply. By the middle of the decade the agenda of meetings often revolved around a consideration of schemes 'to revive the Chartist agitation in the district'.[8] In part this decline reflected the fact that the six points of the Charter had begun to lose their grip on the popular imagination. During the early 1840s the appeal of Chartism had been based on the belief that political action was the principal mechanism for social change, and leaders such as Feargus O'Connor fought many a bitter battle to keep the movement discrete from other questions. In the mid-1840s, however, many Chartists turned their primary attention to other concerns: the Ten Hours movement, trade-union affairs, co-operation, friendly societies and even such programmes of municipal improvement as public parks. Ironically O'Connor exacerbated this trend after 1845 when he threw his energies into the Chartist Land Plan. The popularity of the Chartist National Land Company in Manchester and Salford was thus a mixed blessing; the catchcry 'The Charter and No Surrender' had begun to give way to a quest for 'The Charter and Something More'.

For a time the new strategy seemed to succeed, and in 1847 there was talk of a Chartist revival; reports in the *Northern Star* referred to new members enrolling and to the 'many old faces [who] have come amongst

us that we have missed for years'.[9] This was the time when the Mayor, Elkanah Armitage, initiated military preparations to preserve law and order. On the back of a worsening economic situation this momentum was sustained into 1848, the year of revolutions. As rebellion spread through the capital cities of Europe following Louis Philippe's abdication on 24 February, Manchester was convulsed by serious rioting in New Cross, its working-class heartland. There is no evidence to suggest that the grievances of the crowd went beyond the grim state of the local economy (an estimated 8000 unemployed and many thousands more on reduced hours),[10] but the riots on 8 and 9 March were followed by a large Chartist meeting in front of Salford Town Hall on 13 March where a congratulatory address to the French people was carried by acclamation.[11] Alarmed by rumours of a secret alliance between the Chartists and the Irish Confederates, the local magistrates enrolled some 12 000 Special Constables. In fact, as we have seen, the Chartists and Confederates had negotiated in full public view and their alliance was celebrated at a huge public meeting on 17 March.

This momentum was continued into the following month: a large Chartist meeting was held on 4 April, the same day that the Chartist National Convention commenced its deliberations in London, and the *Northern Star* reported that 'dense and enthusiastic' meetings were occurring nightly in Manchester and Salford which would continue during the sittings of the Convention. The excitement reached a crescendo when a massive crowd gathered at Smithfield Market on 16 April, less than a week after the so-called humiliating backdown by the London Chartists who had dispersed quietly rather than battle to cross the Thames to present the National Petition to the House of Commons.[12] For the Manchester Chartists, however, the next move was not obvious. The arrest of John Mitchel, editor of the *United Irishman* and a leading Confederate, provided the rationale for another large protest rally in Stevenson Square in May. When Mitchel's conviction and transportation were followed by the suspension of Habeas Corpus in Ireland and the prohibition of meetings by local magistrates, some Chartists began to refer to the Government's 'reign of terror' and call for the formation of a 'National Guard' to protect the people. The news that the remaining Young Irelanders had commenced their abortive rebellion in Ballingarry, County Tipperary, on 29 July, deepened the crisis in Lancashire. One historian has concluded that in the days following the rising, Manchester was probably the centre of a conspiracy intended to culminate in action on 15 or 16 August during which the city would be burned and the Magistrates shot. While the truth is inextricably entangled in a web of spy reports and secrecy, the response

of the Manchester authorities was swift. On the night of 15 August a force of 300 police simultaneously arrested a clutch of leading Chartists and Confederates, dealing the movement a severe blow at a crucial moment.[13] Worse was to come. At the end of 1848 a Chartist meeting at the Hall of Science attracted a crowd of 3000 to consider the future of the Land Company, which was running into serious legal difficulties. As we have seen, the Company represented a considerable investment in both money and hope for a large number of local Chartists. With accusations of mismanagement, misappropriation and corruption beginning to fly, it is not surprising that, in the recollection of one local commentator, the collapse of the company spelt the end of Chartism.[14]

In June 1849, the *Northern Star* reported that the People's Institute was facing closure as a result of financial hardship, and by 1850 the mass movement of the early 1840s had dwindled into a rump; in February 1851 it was estimated that the NCA in Manchester and Salford had less than 300 members. Admittedly the number of card-carrying members had never been a reliable indicator of the strength of the Chartist community, but the fact was that this figure was less than one-tenth the number of cards subscribed in Manchester and Salford a decade earlier. Moreover, as Daniel Donovan pointed out, in 1839 'nearly every workshop and Trades' Association recognised the People's Charter' whereas in 1851 'it was the reverse'.[15] The Charter was no longer seen as a panacea, and by 1850 a new generation of leaders such as G. M. W. Reynolds openly espoused a heresy of a decade earlier: 'The Charter alone would be comparatively of little avail', he informed the readers of O'Connor's *Northern Star*; 'it would give political rights but something more is needed'. The search for new policies led inevitably to division. When some of the Manchester Chartists called for a closer relationship with the co-operative movement Jones lampooned them as men whose wish to 'tack a grocery business' on to Chartism would transform a political movement into a 'universal organisation of meal-tubs'. Some of those he had in mind – in particular Daniel Donovan and James Leach – had been at the forefront in condemning his and others' efforts to unite the Chartists and various social reformers in the capital as an attempt to mix Chartism 'pure and simple' with a 'kind of mongrel Socialism…borrowed from the Parisian school of philosophers'.[16]

The most vexatious and divisive question involving the Manchester and Salford Chartists, however, was whether to ally Chartism to collateral movements sponsored by middle-class reformers. In the early 1850s the most important of these was the PFRA. The impetus for this organisation originated in Lancashire. The Liverpool Financial Reform Association had

been founded in 1848 by Lawrence Heyworth, MP for Liverpool, Sir Joshua Walmsley, MP for Bolton, and Robertson Gladstone, brother of the future Prime Minister. The Association quickly attracted support among a cross-section of Parliamentary Radicals and veterans of the ACLL, including Richard Cobden and Joseph Hume, for a programme of reform of the financial system (shifting from indirect to direct taxation and cutting government spending) which tapped a residue of support for the traditional radical critique of 'old corruption'. There was also broad support for an extension of the programme to include parliamentary reform. When Walmsley promoted the association in the capital early in 1849 he was committed to broadening the agenda and, under his presidency, the Metropolitan (later National) PFRA was founded on the twin objectives of financial reform and extending the franchise to all ratepayers.[17] As a veteran teetotaller, Anti-Corn Law Leaguer, and Complete Suffragist, Heyworth was well known to the Chartists as an 'offensive' man who had objected not to the Charter, but to the leaders of Chartism at the December 1842 Complete Suffrage Conference in Birmingham. Walmsley, a former Mayor of Liverpool and a wealthy and politically ambitious businessman, apparently had no such reservations as he openly courted the Chartists.[18] His efforts quickly bore fruit, but the embrace of the PFRA precipitated a schism in the ranks of the Chartists both in London and Manchester.

In Manchester a closer relationship with the middle classes received the overwhelming endorsement of the rank-and-file. The significance of this outcome needs to be underscored. As we have seen, middle-class initiatives, such as the NCSU in 1842–43, had been greeted with indifference or hostility by all but a few local Chartists. Even among the small number of Chartists and middle-class reformers who were prepared to co-operate, old divisions were easily excited. In April 1848, for example, a handful of prominent Chartists (including those who had flirted with the NCSU) were involved in the establishment of a group called the Manchester Universal Suffrage Association. Inspired by Hume's mooted reform proposal (the so-called 'Little Charter' tabled in the House of Commons in June 1848), the movement was stopped in its tracks within weeks as soon as Cobden and others clarified that the basis for co-operation was to be confined to household suffrage. The Chartists retreated behind the catch-cry of 'No Surrender'.[19] How different it was in 1851 when they showed a willingness to put expediency before principle and co-operate on a platform of less than manhood suffrage.

In contrast to the Chartists of the metropolis, in Manchester it was the opponents of an alliance with the PFRA who were driven to establish a

rival organisation. Calling themselves the Manchester branch of the NCA, the 'seceders' (estimated at between 30 and 40) occupied premises in Deansgate clinging to the motto 'No Surrender' and believing that the majority of Manchester Chartists were 'attempting to sell the...locality to the middle classes'. Support for an alliance was centred on the Chartist Council at the People's Institute in Ancoats under the leadership of Donovan and Leach. With characteristic bluntness Leach stated that it 'mattered nothing to him who he received the Suffrage from' including his old enemies among the manufacturers, a point developed in the first published address of the Manchester Council. Arguing that 'the hostility which has been excited between the Chartists and the middle classes has tended most materially to damage our interests as a party', the Council stated that while they would remain a 'distinctive' and 'independent political body', they would give support to any group 'seeking even a modicum of justice'.[20] Feargus O'Connor had run hot and cold on the question. According to R. G. Gammage, he 'became every day more in love with the financial and parliamentary reformers' during 1849 and he attended their meetings, claiming that he 'had not come there to throw the apple of discord amongst them but to extend the olive branch of peace'. The Chartists who supported the PFRA both in London and Manchester were among his oldest allies, and he had not denounced them with the vehemence usually reserved for proponents of compromise. In March 1851 O'Connor added to the confusion during a visit to Manchester. Although he accepted the nomination of the Deansgate group to represent Manchester at a National Conference in April, he shared a platform with Leach and Donovan, praising them as fit men to represent Manchester in the House of Commons, 'What more did they require than long-tried, honest men like James Leach [and] Daniel Donovan', he asked his audience.[21]

The scene was set for a protracted and bitter conflict. Early in 1852 the opponents of a middle-class alliance regained control of the People's Institute, which no doubt encouraged Jones's ebullient claim that 'the brave old Charter has risen up from his sick bed...and is taking a walk over the hills of Lancashire...'. The attempt of the Manchester Chartist Council to maintain a 'distinctive', 'independent political body' allied with the middle classes had probably foundered as early as September 1851 when some leading Chartists (including Abel Heywood and James Scholefield) took the lead in the formation of a Manchester Branch of the PFRA, but the division did not end there. Despite Jones's repeated claims of victory – 'THE FIELD IS CLEAR', he boasted in October 1852 – Manchester Chartism continued to be beset by (what one member called)

'various feuds, bickerings and calumnies'.[22] In part the problem was that the factions were not hermetically sealed off from one another – Scholefield, for example, was still a regular visitor at the People's Institute – and it is not surprising that reports from Manchester and Salford are replete with references to 'apathy', 'personal animosity' and the 'greatest difficulties imaginable, both pecuniary and otherwise'. At about this time, George Julian Harney, the editor of the *Northern Star*, revealed the depth of the bitterness in his condemnation of the Manchester Chartists as a 'degraded crew of slaves and sycophants' and 'ignorant blockheads'. He even told Engels that he 'would rather be hanged in London than die a natural death in Manchester'.[23]

Although in June 1853 Jones's *People's Paper* carried a report of a 'revival of Chartism in Manchester', the situation of the Chartists did not subsequently improve. Thus in September when the paper noted a 'very spirited...meeting', it had to admit that this was 'by no means numerous'.[24] In November Jones tried a different tack by issuing a prospectus for a 'mass movement' that culminated in the sittings of the grandiosely self-styled 'National Labour Parliament' at the People's Institute during March 1854. Shoulder to shoulder with honorary delegates Karl Marx and Louis Blanc, about 40 representatives of various trades unions, districts and towns, including four from Manchester and Salford, commenced proceedings in the hope that their 'Parliament' would be a 'real reflex of the mind of the working classes'. Political reform was low on the agenda of the 'Labour Parliament' which reflected its preoccupation with the widespread industrial strife occurring in many manufacturing districts at this time, and the fact that only a small number of delegates had Chartist credentials (two of the four from Manchester).[25] Jones used the 'Parliament' to promote a co-operative venture (despite his earlier opposition to the Land Plan and the Manchester co-operators' 'grocery business') but, as R. G. Gammage noted, 'the plan did not take'. The experience led Marx to proclaim a 'new epoch in the world's history', but by August 1854 leading members declared the mass movement a failure. As the year ended the Manchester Chartists were forced to vacate the People's Institute, the venue of the 'Labour Parliament', and their home for the best part of a decade.[26] The middle of 1855 saw another attempt at 're-organising' Chartism in Manchester and Salford, but a public meeting in Stevenson Square attracted a paltry crowd of five or six hundred which, as even the organisers conceded, was a 'very small one, considering the great population of Manchester'. At a time when the first history of Chartism had already been completed and radical energies were dissipated by disputes over government policy in the Crimea, all that remained of the movement in

Manchester and Salford was a tiny coterie huddled together for their regular Sunday-night meeting at Coat's School Room in Great Ancoats Street.[27]

It was in these circumstances that Jones took one of his last major political initiatives. At a Chartist conference in London in February 1858 his long-time ally, Edward Hooson of Manchester, jettisoned the previous policy and pressed successfully for one of co-operation with the middle class.[28] The re-emergence of this stance among the Manchester Chartists was confirmed at the end of the year with the foundation of the Manchester Political Reform Association (later Manchester Universal Suffrage Association). From the Chair at the inaugural meeting Heywood pointed out that:[29]

> a great change had taken place in the opinions of the majority of the working classes, in Manchester especially, and they were willing to give their assistance to any class or body of men, even if they did not go quite so far as themselves, in the hope that they might, if possible, bring them further towards their views.

This conciliatory attitude was sorely tested during the General Election the following year when the Chartists' overtures were rebuffed. In April the Manhood Suffrage Association nominated Heywood as a representative of 'advanced' views or, as one supporter referred to it, 'the creed of the People's Charter'. The proposers 'assumed that the working men *en masse* would vote for Mr Heywood', but they also offered him as a candidate who could command the support of middle-class electors. A founding member of the PFRA in 1851, Heywood, along with another old Chartist, J. R. Cooper, was a prominent member of one of its successor organisations, the Lancashire Reformers' Union, which was dominated by former members of the ACLL including George Wilson (President) and Elkanah Armitage (Treasurer). The assumption that Heywood would be able to secure their support for his candidacy proved false. However much some middle-class reformers were prepared to co-operate with working class radicals, they were not yet ready to send a Chartist to Westminster. Forced to conduct a separate campaign, Heywood ran third, gaining over 5000 votes, almost the entire number of working men on the roll.[30]

The 1859 campaign proved to be a forerunner of the events leading up to the election of 1865. Formed in February 1865, the largely working-class Reform League became the most prolific organisation since the NCA, boasting a national membership of some 65 000 members in over 600 branches (Hooson was President of the Northern Department and Jones was national vice-President). The League was committed to a

platform of manhood suffrage and the ballot, but in the spirit of co-operation it agreed to support a proposal for limited parliamentary reform floated by the Liberal Government.[31] The middle of the 1860s was also a crucial time for many middle-class reformers. An historian, Margot Finn, has recently described the middle-class reform efforts after 1848 as 'episodic and ineffectual' until the establishment of the National Reform Union in Manchester in April 1864. Despite its direct lineage from the ACLL and the Lancashire Reformers' Union – Wilson, for example, was successively Chairman of all three – the Reform Union represented a new departure in important respects. Finn highlights the willingness of its leaders to tone down the *laissez-faire* rhetoric which characterised Manchester School liberals – a mood which was also reflected in their attempts to involve Jones in the Union by offering him an honorary vice-Presidency. Jones resisted the embrace and a subsequent joint Conference in Manchester failed to produce an alliance.[32] Despite this failure, after the announcement of an election in July 1865, it was with some expectation of middle-class endorsement that Heywood – supported by Jones, Dixon, Roberts and other prominent former Chartists – was again nominated as a manhood suffrage candidate, declaring that 'the working classes did not receive enough representation in the House of Commons'. Middle-class opinion was still divided and, in the end, Armitage and his associates demurred and supported Jacob Bright without a running-mate who might have threatened the other sitting member and favourite of the upper bourgeoisie, Thomas Bazley. It was small consolation to Heywood – who ran fourth out of four – that he again attracted practically all the registered working-class vote and his frustration boiled over during his concession speech when he attributed his defeat to 'snobbishness':[33]

> it was that feeling which would not allow a man to represent the city unless he wore broadcloth – (Hear, hear); – unless he occupied some great warehouse here – (Applause).

'Fustian' had been defeated by 'broadcloth'; defeat, however, did not put an end to the alliance strategy to which the former Chartists were now irrevocably committed.

Three years later the Second Reform Bill gave Manchester an additional seat and this provided the scope for an accommodation of the working-class radicals in a grand alliance that also embraced the differing tendencies in the ranks of middle-class liberalism. Jones accepted, with Heywood's support, the third position on the 'United Liberal Party' ticket and his running mates were the Gladstonian, Bright and the Palmerstonian, Bazley.[34] As an ally of 'broadcloth' however, Jones was confronted and

ultimately defeated not so much by any reluctance on the part of middle-class electors as by a new force on the political stage that ate into the heart of his constituency: popular Toryism. No one was surprised that Jones polled poorly in middle-class districts, but what was not anticipated was that in solidly working-class areas – New Cross, Ancoats, Hulme and Chorlton – over 8000 votes would help a Tory top the poll. The stock-in-trade of popular Toryism in Lancashire as it emerged in the late 1860s was a combination of old-fashioned paternalism, ethno-chauvinism and Orangeism.[35] In an area where treasured copies of Cobbett's works were reputed to have enjoyed pride of place on the shelves of countless working men, the success of this appeal to nationalism tinctured with Protestantism and social reform seems more obvious now; at the time a bewildered Engels despairingly concluded that the Manchester proletariat had 'discredited itself terribly'.[36] Jones's defeat was a harbinger of the future; by 1885 the Tories would be strong enough to be elected in five of the six Manchester seats. The extent to which the political landscape had altered was confirmed three years later in 1888. On the site where, in 1842, 30 000 Chartists had witnessed the laying of the foundation stone, a mere handful of protesters watched the Hunt Monument being demolished to be sold off as scrap building material.

The Chartist legacy lived on long after Jones's funeral, but the nature of that legacy is in dispute. The reasons for the decline of Chartism and the basis of the mid-Victorian reconciliation between working-class and middle-class reformers have been the subject of an extensive literature and there is not scope to review it here.[37] Our task is to signpost the various paths into the last decades of the nineteenth century. Some former Chartists, it may be assumed, were among the thousands who voted Tory in 1868 and thereafter; solidly working-class Hulme, as H. J. Hanham has pointed out, remained a Tory stronghold until 1945.[38] Others, it may also be assumed, went on to fulfil the expectations of the early left-wing historians of Chartism who saw among the Chartists the standard-bearers of an 'embryonic socialism' which inspired the founders of the Labour Party and brought about the collapse of its alliance with the Liberals after the First World War. It is possible that an examination of the mainstays of the Independent Labour Party in Lancashire would find, as E. P. Thompson has done for the other side of the Pennines, a 'remarkable proportion' that 'claimed Chartist forebears or the influence of Chartist traditions in their childhood'.[39] As early as 1881, however, Engels observed that the working class had become the 'tail of the Great Liberal Party'. He could barely hide his disappointment, which was shared over eighty years later by the editor of the *New Left Review* who wrote in 1964 of a 'profound

caesura' in English labour history.[40] In the late 1960s Brian Harrison and Patricia Hollis sought to rescue Chartists who became adherents of Gladstonian Liberalism – in particular Robert Lowery and Henry Vincent – from the accusation they had taken a 'wrong turning'. Analysing the liberal programme – 'democracy, peace, decentralisation, reduced taxation, religious liberty, moral progress and opportunity for thrift, enterprise and effort' – Harrison found the repository of a great deal of Chartist aspiration.[41] He might have also rescued many of the Manchester Chartists. From the octogenarian veterans who commemorated Peterloo with their pikes and banners in the Failsworth Liberal Club to Abel Heywood and even to Ernest Jones, liberalism was their final resting place.[42]

The man who best exemplified this continuity into liberalism was the man known as the 'last of the Manchester Chartists', William Henry Chadwick. Born in 1829 in 'humble circumstances', Chadwick was a mere boy during most of the events described in this book; he was a youth of 19 when he was imprisoned as a firebrand for sedition and conspiracy in 1848. By the time of his death in 1908 Chadwick had stood on countless platforms sporting his treasured 'O'Connor Medal', minted to commemorate the release from prison of his boyhood hero in 1841. Over the years he was an advocate of political reform, trade unionism, temperance, free trade, Home Rule and land reform. In 1891 he was employed by the National Liberal Federation as a van lecturer, an occupation he pursued until his death. Despite increasing deafness Chadwick remained 'hale and vigorous' addressing daily meetings for six or seven weeks without a break during the 1906 Election. His headstone in Willow Green Cemetery in Manchester bears an apposite inscription which speaks for many former Chartists who enriched public life in the second half of the nineteenth century: 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished *my* course, I have kept the faith'.[43]

Conclusion

In the same year that Ernest Jones was buried, the truculent Chartist stalwart, Thomas Cooper, was trudging around Lancashire plying his trade of lecturer. As he wrote in his memoirs three years later, he found the halls for his lectures half-empty and the whole experience 'painful':[1]

> In our old Chartist time, it is true, Lancashire working men were in rags by thousands; and many of them often lacked food. But their intelligence was demonstrated wherever you went. You would see them in groups discussing the great doctrine of political justice – that every grown-up, sane man ought to have a vote in the election of the men who were to make the laws by which he was to be governed; or they were in earnest dispute respecting the teachings of Socialism. *Now*, you will see no such groups in Lancashire.

Cooper went on to complain that greyhounds, Building Society shares and pigeon-racing had replaced democracy and socialism as the topics of conversation. At about the same time another old radical, Patrick Lloyd Jones, co-wrote a book entitled *Progress of the Working Class*. As the title indicates, Jones did not share Cooper's grim view of his old age, but he recognised change nonetheless. Underscoring the 'improvement' in the working class, Jones admitted to the reader that he had once sat clutching a sharpened pike awaiting news of the progress of the 1832 Reform Act, and he characterised the politics of Manchester in his youth as 'always close to the edge of rebellion'.[2] An Owenite and political radical, the young Jones had been committed to a total transformation of society, but by the time he wrote his book he was typical of those described by E. P. Thompson as men who, 'having failed to overthrow capitalist society, proceeded to warren it from end to end'.[3] The 'old immoral world' was to be reformed not transformed. Cooper and Jones were right; the militant and stridently class-conscious political culture that reached its apogee in the early 1840s had passed into history.

The early Chartists were the first generations of working people to experience full-blown urban-industrialism.[4] There is something to be said for C. Wright Mills' thesis that classes have greater 'revolutionary' potential in their infancy; the early Chartists were more abrasive than their successors because their sense of outrage and alienation was greater.[5] They sought to reform Parliament to end 'class legislation', but this was only the starting-point of their quest for a better world. Chartism was more than

a narrowly defined political movement – it was a remarkably rich political culture that offered nothing less than a way of life. This book has sought to fill a gap in Chartist historiography by recording aspects of the social history of the movement in its most important provincial centre. We have seen that Chartism in Manchester and Salford was the product of decades of shared experiences drawing strength from close inter-personal relationships even in a massive industrial conurbation. We have defended the Manchester Chartists from the accusation that they were 'mono-maniacs who run-a-muck at everything but the Charter'[6] by cataloguing their multifarious involvements and interests and exploring the breadth of their enthusiasm for changing their world. We have found, repeatedly, that the divisions within the national leadership of Chartism and between them and their counterparts in other contemporary movements, are a poor guide to the attitudes and actions of the rank-and-file. Although Manchester and Salford were undoubted O'Connorite strongholds, the Chartists there were not, as one historian has written, 'trustingly mesmerised'[7] by him; their loyalty was never undiscerning or unquestioning. The 'fustian jackets' of Manchester and Salford responded to the non-deferential and stridently class-conscious aspects of O'Connor's leadership, but we have also seen them steer an independent course against the advice of their champion. For example, we have heard them echo his condemnations of the 'New Move' to incorporate education and teetotalism into the Chartist movement, but this did not diminish their zeal for self-improvement. We have considered the question of who were the committed Chartist activists and, by exploring their experiences, we have developed the concept of the 'trade of agitation' as a way of understanding their formative steps into the world of professional politics. Through the study of forms of collective protest we have also outlined a methodology which, going beyond prominent individuals and providing a voice for the rank-and-file, makes a new contribution to the debate about the place of class in the ideology of the movement. It is hoped that the findings of this book will shed light in other directions and that the strategies can be transported to other places, times and cultures.

It is not hard to imagine an active Chartist moving to Manchester or Salford in the early 1840s from another part of Britain and seeking to re-establish links with the movement in his adopted home. What was on offer for him and where would he have found it? Depending on his preferences (and abilities) he might have joined the 'MERRY CHARTISTS' in the Dancing Class at the Brown Street branch of the NCA; he could have sought membership of the Chartist Amateurs' 'Thespian Theatre' at the Star and Garter who presented productions such as 'Hofer, the Tell of the

Tyrol', 'Venice Preserved', 'Bombastes Furioso' and the 'Trial of Robert Emmet'. If, on the other hand, his predilection was for music he might have signed on with the Salford Chartist Brass Band.[8]

Had our migrant sought more didactic company he might have joined the 'intellectual hotbed' that was the Operative Mutual Improvement Society formed by the Chartists in the Redfern Street branch; or he might have participated in the Salford Chartist debate and discussion group and taken advantage of their extensive library. If he was a teetotaller he would have found Chartists of like mind in the Brown Street branch or in one of several Temperance Coffee houses; if he leaned towards socialism he might well have joined the Number 34 branch of the Manchester Owenites where the Secretary was a well-known Chartist, or he could have purchased shares in one of several Chartist co-operative stores. If he was a radical Christian, however, he could have chosen from a range of radical preachers to minister to his spiritual needs; or he could have chosen to combine many of the above by becoming involved in the Christian Chartist teetotal co-operative land experiment on nearby Chat Moss.

Wherever he lived in working-class Manchester and Salford he would have been close to a public house or tap-room known for its radical clientele. Here he could have enjoyed a 'social glass', a game of dominoes, cards or draughts or simply a 'good fire'. Many of the same attractions were on offer several nights a week at any one of the Chartist association rooms together with the exhilaration of Feargus's weekly letter read aloud from the *Northern Star*, earnest debate, stirring resolutions and other trappings of the 'clubability of the English'.[9] Scarcely would a week pass without a convivial Chartist function to attend. Singing, dancing, toasts and recitations and ample 'gunpowder and currant cake'[10] were the staple items in this full calendar of Chartist balls, dinners and tea parties. Close at hand to his new home, no matter where it was in the working-class districts of Manchester and Salford, he would have found at least one radical newsagent or bookshop. Any veteran of popular politics would have recognised these shops as places for rendezvous and information-exchange. Here also was the place to obtain a copy of the *Northern Star*, the 'oracle of the movement',[11] as well as a plethora of radical tracts and pamphlets and even Chartist products: ink, breakfast powder, boot-black, scarves, handkerchiefs, pills, and clothing in what was curiously called the O'Connor tartan.

By concluding with an inventory of Chartist culture in Manchester and Salford it has not been my intention to trivialise the experience. The grievances of working men and women in the 'old immoral world' of early nineteenth-century Manchester and Salford were legion; the hardships

they faced were numerous and often exacerbated by an involvement in radical politics. Persecution and even prison were endured by many active Chartists, but the 'fustian jackets' struggled with defiance and hope. Browsing the shelves at his nearby radical bookshop, our imaginary migrant might well have picked up a volume penned by one of his new comrades, Benjamin Stott, a humble bookbinder in Silver Street, Manchester. In it he would have found defiance and hope etched on every page:[12]

> We know that our tyrants will strive to subdue us,
> They have knaves to commit us, and soldiers to kill;
> They will deal out the *justice of despots* unto us,
> And the grave and the dungeon endeavour to fill.
> But they can never conquer the spirit within us,
> It cannot be broken by torture nor chain;
> No bribe from the pursuit of freedom can win us,
> And their killings and dungeonings all are in vain.
>
> We all were born equal, we all were born free,
> The Divine gift of reason to all has been given;
> And woe to the tyrant – accursed be he,
> Who would alter the law that was founded in heaven.
> Then arouse thee Britannia, and prove to the world,
> That liberty yet shall exist in thy land;
> When the fair flag of freedom again is unfurl'd,
> Nor tyrants, nor despots, its powers shall withstand.

Appendix A: Local Chartist Portraits[1]

Bell, William (1815–92)

Dorothy Thompson has written that William Bell of Heywood, near Rochdale, 'does not appear before 1842 [when he was arrested for sedition] or afterwards as an active or vocal Chartist', but on both counts she is incorrect. A godson of Thomas Carlyle, Bell was born near Carlyle's home of Ecclefechan in Scotland; he later settled in Salford to practise his trade as a fustian-cutter. By late 1839 Bell was regarded by the Salford Chartists as a 'young man of great talent and a very promising speaker'. In March 1840 he represented the Salford RA at a regional delegate meeting and by October he was Secretary of the Salford branch of the NCA. In April 1841 he was nominated to the NCA General Council. During 1841 Bell fulfilled numerous speaking engagements and, in January 1842, he moved with his wife and three children to Godsen Lane, Heywood. By mid-1842 he had become a full-time lecturer. An active trade unionist, he represented the fustian-cutters of Heywood at the Trades Delegates Conference in Manchester during the 1842 Plug Plot strikes; he was arrested for his part in the disturbances and subsequently imprisoned for six months. After his release Bell resumed lecturing as a vocation, but was eventually forced for financial reasons to take a job at the Heywood Ironworks. He remained active in Chartist politics, representing Heywood at the National Convention in December 1845. He also participated in local government in Heywood and was an active promoter of co-operatives. By mid-century he was making the transition to liberalism, becoming a stalwart of the Heywood Liberal Council and the Heywood Reform Club.

Butterworth, William (1809–?)

Born in Oldham, Butterworth was an operative cotton-spinner who came to prominence early in 1839. A critic of local 'middle-class' Chartists, he was elected to the Executive Council of the MPU in 1839. Although he was not an advocate of social 'levelling', Butterworth stated that he was 'against one portion of society being the servants of another'. He was also noted for his opposition to the New Poor Law, the Irish Coercion Bill and the Rural Police Bill. Butterworth suffered as a result of his political involvement. He was arrested in August 1839 for sedition and conspiracy and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in March 1840. Prior to imprisonment he was unemployed 'in consequence of attending political meetings', and consequently had been living with his wife and child in one of the notorious cellars

1 These portraits have been compiled from a multitude of fragmentary references. For a full citation see P. A. Pickering, '"The Fustian Jackets": Aspects of the Chartist Movement in Manchester and Salford to 1842', La Trobe University, Ph.D, 1992, pp. 312–354, 391–446.

of working-class Manchester. After his release in December 1840 Butterworth was nominated for election to the NCA Executive, but was unsuccessful. Being again unable to find employment in his trade, he became a full-time Chartist lecturer in February 1841 but, following complaints that he had failed to keep engagements, he switched to Chartist news-vending in June 1841. Butterworth left Britain for North America in 1842. Described by the Inspector of Prisons as an 'ignorant and violent man', Butterworth was a strong supporter of Feargus O'Connor who included him among his 'old list' of 87 trusted Chartists published in April 1841.

Campbell, John (1810–74)

Born in Ireland, Campbell was a power-loom weaver by trade who settled in Salford. Regarded as ambitious, he first came to notice late in 1838. By mid-1839 he was Secretary of the Salford RA and he represented Salford on the Council of the MPU. He was elected Secretary of the Salford NCA in August 1840. By this time he had given up weaving, commencing business as a radical newsagent in Addersly Street, Salford, and as a Chartist lecturer. For a time he lived with Abel Heywood where he learned the trade of bookselling and publishing. With the patronage of Heywood and Bronterre O'Brien, Campbell made a rapid rise through the Chartist ranks, gaining election to the NCA Executive in May 1841. He was re-elected in June 1842, coming second in the national poll. Although his duties as full-time NCA Secretary involved frequent travel, Campbell remained active in a range of local Chartist and trade-union affairs, having retained close links to the weavers' union. O'Connor regarded Campbell as a 'man of great research' and included him in his 'old list' in 1841. Despite a reputation for forceful oratory, he owed his position to his skills as an administrator. In mid-1842 he relocated his bookselling business to Holborn, London. He returned to Manchester in August 1842 as a delegate to the National Conference that took place during the Plug Plot riots, and he was later arrested for his involvement. He was found guilty at his trial in March 1843, but he was not called for sentence. Campbell was accused late in 1842 of 'gross and plain jobbing' as a result of high expenses in the NCA accounts. Although he vigorously denied the charges, he resigned as NCA Secretary in December 1842 and, with his wife, 'piked his bones off' to North America in May 1843. Campbell established himself as newsagent-cum-bookseller in Philadelphia and continued to be active in politics for the remainder of his life, including vocal support of the Confederacy during the Civil War. He was author of *An Examination of the Corn and Provision Laws* (Manchester, 1841); *A Theory of Equality: or the Way to make Man act Honestly* (Philadelphia, 1848); *Negro Mania* (Philadelphia, 1851).

Cartledge, James (dates unknown)

By the early 1840s Cartledge had resided in Manchester for about twenty years. During that time he had worked in a factory, as a 'Methodist' preacher, a school master, as purveyor and Secretary of the Hulme and Brown Street Chartist co-operatives, and a Chartist lecturer. In 1843 he was described as a one-armed man, possibly the result of a factory accident. Cartledge was first mentioned in the Chartist press early in 1840 as a member of the Brown Street branch and in

October of that year became their representative at South Lancashire Delegate meetings. By this time he had earned a reputation as a 'zealous and sincere' advocate, a standing reflected in his election as Secretary of the South Lancashire Chartist Council, and nomination as a candidate for the NCA Executive in late 1840. Although unsuccessful in the election in June 1841 he was included among O'Connor's 'old list'. At this time he was also nominated by the Brown Street branch to the NCA General Council. Cartledge was an advocate of the 'productive powers of the land', a vehement opponent of the standing army, and a staunch teetotaller, appending his name to the London Chartist declaration calling on Chartists to take the pledge. In July 1842 he resigned as South Lancashire Secretary to move to the Potteries; he was back a month later representing Mossley at the National Convention at the height of the Plug Plot disturbances, and in September he was arrested for sedition during the strike. No doubt under pressure, he subsequently co-operated with the authorities giving evidence against other Chartists for which a *nolle prosequi* was entered to his benefit. Branded a 'traitor' and a 'Government pal', Cartledge continued to uphold Chartist opinions. His name has been ignored by Chartist historians, with the exception of Gammage, in whose index he is immortalised as 'informer'. Cartledge was married but apparently had no children; after the trials he appears to have resided unmolested in Upper Hanley in the Potteries until at least 1846.

Cooper, James Renshaw (dates unknown)

Cooper was born in Barton-upon-Irwell near Manchester during the second decade of the nineteenth century. With his brother Robert he was raised in a radical and freethought household which was exemplified when he was expelled from Sunday School in the aftermath of Peterloo for wearing a radical White Hat. By the late 1830s Cooper had established a radical publishing and bookselling business in Bridge Street, Manchester, which still operated into the 1860s. An active Owenite and Chartist, he was a popular lecturer in both movements. In April 1840 he was arrested and charged with publishing 'blasphemous and profane publications', but it is unclear whether he was ever brought to trial. Cooper was a strong advocate of freedom of the press and of co-operation. He was an active member of the HMC and was nominated to the NCA General Council in July 1842 by the Carpenters' Hall branch. Cooper continued to be active in the secularist movement and as a Chartist lecturer specialising in lectures on co-operation and the Chartist Land Plan. After 1848 he advocated an alliance with the middle class. By the end of the 1850s he was an active member of the Manchester Universal Suffrage Association, and a vice-president of the Lancashire Reformers' Union, a successor organisation to the ACLL. He was Secretary of the Manchester Working Men's Parliamentary Reform Association during the 1860s.

Curran, Edward (1799–?)

Born in Ireland, Curran settled in Manchester about 1818 to practise his trade as a hand-loom silk-weaver. He was present at Peterloo in 1819, and by the time of the Reform Bill crisis he had become a prominent activist. In 1831 he was founding Chairman of the Manchester Operative Political Union, and in July of that year he was a Manchester delegate to the National Union of the Working Classes in London.

In February 1832 Curran was arrested on charges of sedition and conspiracy and imprisoned for 12 months. Soon after his release he resumed political activities: by March 1834 he was Secretary of the Friends of Henry Hunt and the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty. A leading trade-unionist among the hand-loom weavers, Curran was active in support of the Dorchester Labourers during 1834. In 1835 he was a foundation member of the HMC. He was active in the Manchester RA during 1836–37, taking part in the campaigns against the New Poor Law and the prosecution of the Glasgow cotton-spinners in late 1837 and early 1838. Curran had become Secretary of the Manchester hand-loom weavers' union in mid-1837, and in January 1838 he was elected to represent them on the Executive of the Manchester Trades Council. During 1839 he was elected to the Council of the MPU. Although he continued to affect the dress of a hand-loom weaver, by the late 1830s (if not before) Curran had entered politics on a full-time basis, living as a union official and Chartist lecturer. Curran was a staunch corn law repealer which put him on good terms with the OACLA and the League itself; in August 1841, for example, he led a delegation of workers which presented an anti-corn law petition to the League-sponsored National Conference of Nonconformist Ministers in Manchester. During 1839 he had been accused in some Chartist circles of being a 'hired Whig', but he continued to be a popular Chartist lecturer during 1840–41. In mid-1841, however, he was expelled by the Brown Street NCA branch for refusing to answer a charge of 'dishonesty' the details of which are unknown. As a representative of the hand-loom weavers, Curran continued to support the Charter at meetings during 1842. He was a strong supporter of the Repeal of the Legislative Union with Ireland. At the time of his imprisonment in the early 1830s he was married with three children.

Dean, Christopher (1808–?)

Dean was a stonemason and an active trade unionist, having represented the Manchester stonemasons in 1834 at a trades meeting to protest against the prosecution of the Dorchester labourers. Early in 1837 he chaired a meeting of the Manchester trades against the introduction of the New Poor Law, and a public meeting on the question of universal suffrage. Late that year he was active in the protests against the prosecution of the cotton-spinners of Glasgow, and in January 1838, he was elected President of the Executive of the Manchester Trades Council. In September 1838 he was elected to the Executive Council of the MPU and, by March 1839, he had become Secretary. In May 1839 he was elected to succeed James Wroe as a Manchester delegate to the first Chartist National Convention in London. As 'M.C. for Manchester' he was supposedly paid £5 a week by the MPU Council. He was indicted for seditious conspiracy in August 1839, but 'absconded from the neighbourhood', leaving his wife and five children. He emerged from hiding in March 1841 to visit the 'death bed of an only parent' and was promptly arrested; he was treated leniently at his trial being released on his own recognisances. Dean's brush with the law appears to have ended his career in politics.

Dixon, Elijah (1790–1876)

Born in Kirkburton, Yorkshire, Dixon moved with his family to Manchester as an 11-year-old in 1801. He commenced employment in a cotton-mill shortly

afterwards. As a child he endured periods of great hardship. He worked in the factory system for 'many' years as a piecer and spinner until ill-health in 1820 forced him to seek alternative employment. He became successively a milk-seller, a travelling pedlar and then a manufacturer of pill boxes. The latter business flourished and was expanded into a timber merchants and match-stick makers. Dixon became a 'democrat' at 15, during the French Wars, and was active in postwar radicalism, being among the ill-fated Blanketeers who marched on London in March 1817. For his part he was arrested for high treason during the suspension of Habeas Corpus and taken to London in double irons. Dixon was imprisoned for 18 months but was back in Manchester in sufficient time to be involved in the Peterloo massacre in 1819. Dixon was a member of the MPU in 1830 and was active during the Reform Bill Crisis; at this time he was also active in the early co-operative movement, being involved in the Committee for the Promotion of Co-operative Knowledge, and later serving as President of the North West Co-operative Council. During the 1830s he played a prominent part in various forums of local government, opposing Church Rates, the introduction of the New Poor Law and Manchester's Charter of Incorporation. In the late 1830s he was involved in the Manchester RA; in October 1838 he was elected to the Executive Council of the MPU. He was among the radical supporters of Colonel T. P. Thompson's campaign for the parliamentary borough of Manchester late in 1839, and he was identified as a principal promoter of the Christian Chartist Co-operative experiment in land resettlement on Chat Moss near Manchester in 1840. An ardent self-improver, Dixon was a life-long teetotaller. Religion was a key element of Dixon's radicalism, and he was known as a lay preacher. Over a long career he was described variously as a 'Universalist', a 'Free Thinking Christian', a 'Baptist', a 'mystic' and a 'Christian Israelite'. Richard Carlile, who had a high regard for this 'worthy man', found Dixon's 'most curious Christian religion of his own theoretical manufacture' beyond his comprehension. According to his friend, Joseph Johnson, Dixon was a 'short set, bulky figure', whose 'large head and open countenance [and] his Cobbett like directness of speech, marked him as a noticeable man in any and all company'. He was married with children. An embodiment of the Manchester radical tradition to the end of his life, he was one of the pall-bearers at Ernest Jones's funeral in 1869. When he died seven years later in 1876 the following words were written to honour a man who was regarded as the typical Lancashire 'radical of the Old School':

> Write on his tomb, that when
> Corruption swayed the lives of Englishmen,
> He stood among the few
> Who hoped and felt and knew
> And suffered for their knowledge, that a day
> Must come when purity should have her sway.
>
> Write on his tomb that now
> Though still neath many a burden we bow,
> His labour beareth fruit;
> For many a strong recruit,
> By noble impulse and example led
> Reveres and follows the Reformer, dead.

Donovan, Daniel (1817–?)

Born in Cork, Ireland, Donovan later settled in Manchester as a power-loom weaver. Despite his youth he was a prominent member of the power-loom weavers' trade union during the major industrial dispute at Guest's Mill on the outskirts of Manchester in late 1837. A 'thorough Irish Chartist', Donovan became a popular lecturer in the Manchester and Salford branches of the NCA, and in December 1841 he was nominated to the NCA General Council by the Tib Street branch. During 1842 he represented the Carpenters' Hall branch at South Lancashire delegate meetings. Donovan was President of the power-loom weavers' union in 1840–42, and he represented them at the Trades' Delegates Conference during the Plug Plot strikes in August 1842. He was arrested in September for his part in the disturbances, but apparently he was not prosecuted. Donovan continued to be an active Chartist and trade unionist during the 1840s. In 1848 he was a prominent Chartist lecturer and served as a National Convention delegate from Manchester. At this time he was again arrested and imprisoned for a year leaving a wife and five children facing severe hardship. By the end of the 1840s O'Connor described Donovan as one of the 'veritable OLD GUARD' of Chartism, but to Engels he was nothing more than a 'common, intriguing, local panjandrum'. In 1850–51 Donovan promoted co-operative trading, and he was a leader of the Manchester Chartist Council that advocated a middle-class alliance, precipitating a major schism in the local ranks.

Doyle, Christopher (1811–?)

Born in Dublin, Doyle emigrated to England at 16 in 1827. A power-loom weaver of waterproofs, he worked successively at several Manchester mills. Early in 1837 Doyle was involved in public meetings at which he called for universal suffrage, but he first gained prominence later that year when, as Secretary of the power-loom weavers' union, he led a major strike at Guest's Mill in Holt Town on the outskirts of Manchester. For his part he was arrested and sentenced to nine months' hard labour at Lancaster. Released late in 1838, he immediately resumed trade-union and radical activities. He was elected to the Council of the MPU in 1839. He was again arrested in August 1839 on charges of conspiracy and sedition, and in March 1840, he was sentenced to a further nine months' imprisonment. When he was liberated in December 1840 Doyle was described as 'extremely worn and emaciated'. By this time he had gained an awesome reputation as an 'unflinching democrat' and a 'dungeon proof patriot', a standing reflected in his nomination as a candidate for the NCA Executive. Although he did not contest the poll in mid-1841, Doyle continued to be an active Chartist, being nominated by the Tib Street branch to the NCA General Council. Noted for his 'happy knack of telling his mind to his audience' (and for his fine singing voice), during 1841–42 Doyle established himself as a successful Chartist lecturer and his extensive travelling included two tours of his native Ireland. Doyle represented Stafford and Cheshire at the National Conference in Manchester in August 1842, and he addressed several meetings during the Plug Plot strikes in the same month. These activities led to his arrest in September 1842. While on bail he represented Manchester at the Complete Suffrage Conference in Birmingham in December

1842. At his trial in March 1843 he was found guilty, having told the Court, 'I have agitated, and will again', but sentence was deferred and he was never called for judgement. True to his word Doyle continued to 'agitate'. Throughout the 1840s he was active in the Ten Hours movement and in support of Repeal of the Legislative Union with Ireland. He was also an avowed Republican. Doyle unsuccessfully contested the 1842 NCA Executive election, but was elected in 1843 and served intermittently until 1851. He was one of O'Connor's most loyal lieutenants, becoming a full-time Director of the Chartist National Land Company in 1845. In this capacity he helped run the first Chartist estate at O'Connorville, and was subsequently manager of Minster Lovell (Charterville). He was also drawn in a ballot for a four-acre allotment at Snigs End, but never took up his option. In 1851 Doyle was associated with the break-away National Charter League in London which advocated an alliance with the middle class. After the demise of the Land Company, he became an insurance salesman in Birmingham in the 1850s. He was a single man at the time of his arrest in 1839.

Griffin, William (dates unknown)

William Griffin was once described in the *Manchester Times* as a man who 'manufactures falsehoods to obtain a paltry existence'. In fact he was paid £75 a year for his services as correspondent to the *Northern Star*, a career which he embarked upon in September 1840. Prior to journalism Griffin was a painter by trade in Stockport where he was Secretary of the local WMA, but his change of career necessitated a move to Manchester. After his appointment to the *Star* Griffin rose rapidly in the Chartist ranks. In addition to his journalistic activities he fulfilled many lecturing engagements during 1841. An abstainer for 'upwards of six years', Griffin was known for his lectures on teetotalism, and in February 1841 he appended his name to the London Address calling on Chartists to take the pledge. In June 1842 he became Secretary to the HMC, and in July he was elected as Secretary to the South Lancashire Chartist delegates. At this time he was also nominated by the Manchester painters to the NCA General Council. In mid-1842, however, Griffin lost his position with the *Northern Star*, and he publicly indicated his intention to leave Manchester, and probably the country, after the inauguration of the Hunt Monument during the planned National Conference in August. Griffin attended the Conference as a freelance reporter, and in the weeks that followed, under undoubted pressure, he was induced to 'betray his old friends and companions to the minions of tyranny'. His decision provoked a torrent of vitriolic abuse – he was a 'wretched CAITIFF' a 'VILE MISCREANT' and a 'base and treacherous scoundrel'. The Manchester correspondent of the *British Statesman*, speculated that Griffin would be 'comfortably quartered' on the public purse for his treachery and given the death-threats against him he understandably disappeared after the completion of the trials in March 1843, probably to America, where he had earlier sought to go, or to Ireland where he had been hidden before testifying. In November 1843 O'Connor warned his mortal enemy, Daniel O'Connell, who was facing a charge of sedition, of the rumour that '*our* Griffin...is one of the witnesses to be produced against you'. This came to naught. Griffin was apparently married with a child that died during 1841–42.

Grocott, William (dates unknown)

William Grocott was a weaver by trade who first came to prominence when he was elected Secretary of the Brown Street branch of the NCA in mid-1841. At this time he was also nominated to the NCA General Council, and by the end of 1841 he was representing the Brown Street Chartists at South Lancashire delegate meetings. Grocott's rapid rise in the Chartist ranks was further evident in February 1842 with his election to the regional committee, charged with organising the National Conference in mid-1842. He became involved in the HMC at this time. After the Plug Plot disturbances in August 1842, Grocott emerged as Secretary of the South Lancashire Delegates; he also established himself on the Chartist lecture circuit. During 1843 he played a prominent role in the National Chartist Victim Fund Committee. Although he had never worked in the coal industry, in 1843 Grocott became Lancashire County Secretary of the Miners' Association and was an intermittent correspondent to the *Miners' Advocate*. In 1847 he became General Secretary of the Miners' Association. His position with this fiercely independent union brought him into conflict with the *Northern Star* on more than one occasion, but, despite this, the editor of the *Star* continued to express 'unbounded confidence' in Grocott's 'integrity, zeal and ability'. As an active Chartist he was arrested during 1848 and imprisoned for one year. At the time of his imprisonment Grocott seems to have been married with an adult daughter. After his release he was again active, representing Manchester at a National Conference in 1852.

Hadfield, George (1789–1848)

By the late 1830s George Hadfield, an operative spinner, was regarded as one of the oldest among the Manchester radicals. He had been active in support of Queen Caroline in 1820, and he was a radical Huntite and member of the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty during the early 1830s. In 1833 he was among the first Manchester radicals to answer Richard Carlile's public call for volunteers to oppose taxation. A trade unionist and opponent of the factory system in which he worked for a 'great many years', he was active in the campaign to support the Dorchester Labourers in 1834. Hadfield was a foundation member of the HMC in 1835; he was elected to the Executive Council of the MPU in October 1838 and to the Manchester Chartist Relief Fund Committee in September 1839. It is probable that he was the same George Hadfield who represented the Manchester spinners at the Trades Delegates Conference during the Plug Plot strikes in August 1842. When he died in 1848 he was interred in the 'Patriot's Vault' under the Hunt Monument in Scholefield's churchyard in Ancoats.

Heywood, Abel (1810–93)

The man who came to be known as the 'Father of the Manchester Corporation' had humble origins. Born in Prestwich near Manchester, Heywood was one of four children. When Abel was only 5 his father died and the family moved to Manchester. As a 9-year-old he began work in a warehouse. Heywood remained in this employment until 1831 when, at 20, he obtained the agency for the *Poor Man's Guardian*, and he opened a penny reading room in Oldham Road. This was

the beginning of a printing and publishing empire which grew at such an impressive pace that by 1851 he claimed to handle 10 per cent of the national trade in popular publications. In 1832 Heywood was prosecuted for selling unstamped newspapers and, when he refused to pay the fines, was imprisoned for four months. In 1834 and 1836 he was again heavily fined for selling unstamped publications. Heywood claimed that he had been 'an advocate of freedom ever since I was capable of thinking upon the subject', and his shop became a centre of local radicalism during the early 1830s. In 1835 he was the foundation Secretary of the HMC, and he was involved in the Manchester RA after its formation later that year. During this period he formed a friendship with Feargus O'Connor for whom he acted as business manager during the early 1840s. Heywood was elected to the Council of the MPU in 1838 (and again in 1839); and he was appointed to the Manchester Chartist Victim Fund Committee in September 1839. In July 1840 he was appointed Treasurer of the provisional NCA Executive and Treasurer of the National Chartist Victim Fund the following October. He held both these positions until July 1842 when the NCA administration was relocated to London. In mid 1842 Heywood became a member of the Committee of the Manchester branch of the NCSU. His support for a middle-class alliance was again reflected in his role as a foundation-member of the Manchester branch of the PFRA in 1851, and his subsequent vice-presidency of the Lancashire Reformers' Union. Heywood was a devoted follower of Robert Owen (even naming one of his sons after Owen), and a promoter of co-operative ventures among the Chartists. He later became a Unitarian. In April 1840 Heywood was prosecuted for blasphemy as a result of publishing Haslem's *Letters to the Clergy of All Denominations*, but the Government agreed not pass sentence in exchange for a guilty plea. Home Office records reveal that leniency was a result of his co-operation during the Chartist crisis of 1839. Heywood was a supporter of the Ten Hours Movement and a staunch advocate of freedom of the press, education and temperance, as well as the repeal of the Corn Laws. His career in local government began in 1836 with his election to the Manchester Police Commission and in 1839 he was re-elected as a supporter of Manchester's Charter of Incorporation. Heywood unsuccessfully contested a seat on the new Council in 1842, but was elected the following year and served the Council for the next fifty years until his death in 1893. He was twice Mayor. He continued to advocate radical parliamentary reform, being a founding member of the Manchester Manhood Suffrage Association in 1858. He stood unsuccessfully for election to Parliament for the seat of Manchester as an 'Advanced Liberal' in 1859 and 1865. In 1869 he was a pall-bearer at Jones's funeral. Heywood was an ardent self-improver. He supplemented his elementary education during evenings at the Manchester Mechanics' Institute in the 1820s. He was, he said, 'born and bred in poverty', but by 1839 he estimated himself to be worth £2000. When he died he left an estate valued at £27 306. Heywood's career of public service is best summed up in his own words in 1842: 'under all circumstances, he considered the cause of the people before his own comfort and happiness'. He was twice married and had several children. In 1889 Phillip Wentworth offered a 'little reflection' on 'the unique character of the father of the Manchester Corporation':

> He has always been on the best of terms with his opponents, whose opposition he has diminished by a natural and unfeigned courtesy....He cherished no fads, created no enemies, sacrificed no principle, joined no faction, and withal was as

consistent as any human being can be who learns by experience. Such was and is Alderman Heywood....

Jackson, William Vickers (1803–?)

William Jackson was born in Manchester or nearby Kersal ('he did not know which') and was 'brought up to the trade of boot and shoe maker'. During the 1830s he gave up his trade for a career as a Wesleyan Methodist preacher which he pursued until as late as 1839 when he resigned to found his own schismatic sect. He supplemented his income by running a Sunday school. In 1840 Jackson indicated that he was 'first induced to embark in politics from opposition to the new poor law'; he was on the platform at the first Chartist demonstration on Kersal Moor in September 1838 and was elected to the Council of the MPU a month later. In early 1839 the Hulme–Chorlton branch of the MPU began meeting in his preaching and school room in Lombard Street. Jackson became a much-sought-after speaker, and by April 1839 claimed to be 'almost exhausted', although he continued the hectic engagements including addressing the second Chartist demonstration on Kersal Moor in May 1839. In August 1839 he was arrested for sedition and conspiracy; he was convicted in March 1840 and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. While he was in prison his loyal congregation subscribed over £21 to alleviate the conditions. At this time he added his name to the London Teetotal Declaration. Described by the Inspector of Prisons as a 'very ignorant man', when he was released in April 1841 Jackson 'zealously' asserted that 'imprisonment has only more fully confirmed him in the principles of Chartism'. During 1841 Jackson lived by lecturing and 'preaching sermons', and a fund was also raised to establish a Sunday school and church under his 'pastoral care' in Hulme. In May 1842 Jackson was nominated to the NCA General Council by the Carpenters' Hall branch; in June he unsuccessfully contested the NCA Executive election, but received over 1000 votes in the national poll. Jackson had links with the Owenites, having preached the occasional lecture at the Salford Social Institution. He remained a prominent Chartist and was active in the Ten Hours Movement during the 1840s. At the time of his arrest in 1839 he was single.

Leach, James (1806–69)

Born in Wigan, Leach was an operative who settled in Manchester in 1826. According to his friend Frederick Engels, Leach 'worked for years in various branches of industry, in mills and coal mines'. In 1851 he claimed to have been active in politics for 20 years. He was a foundation member of the HMC in 1835, and he chaired meetings of the Manchester RA during 1836. He was elected to the Council of the MPU in October 1838; in early 1839 he was part of the MPU 'agitating committee' visiting towns in the district, and by June he was representing Manchester at regional meetings. During 1839, after 12 years in the same employment, Leach lost his job as a factory operative because he led the resistance to a wage-reduction. Facing an uncertain future, he established a bookselling and printing business in Oak Street, Manchester. The change of vocation marked the beginning of Leach's rapid rise to the top in the national ranks of Chartism. In July

1840, as a delegate for South Lancashire, he chaired the national Chartist delegate meeting in Manchester at which the NCA was born, and he was subsequently elected President of the provisional Executive. By the end of 1840 Leach had built a reputation as a platform orator and debater, being known as a 'terror, not only to the cotton lords, but every other humbug'. In October 1840 he was appointed 'touring lecturer' by the South Lancashire Chartist Council and for years much of his time was spent on hectic speaking tours. In April 1841 he was included on O'Connor's 'old list', and in June he was elected to the NCA Executive, coming second in the national poll (re-elected 1842). Leach stood for the Borough of Leeds at the 1841 General election, but failed even to win the show of hands. He was arrested for his part as a delegate to the National Conference in Manchester during the Plug Plot disturbances in August 1842; he was found guilty at his trial in March 1843, but was not called for sentence. Leach was an advocate of agriculturalism (serving as a Trustee of the Chartist Land Company during the 1840s), and he opposed corn law repeal on the grounds that it would lead to an extension of the factory system, which he detested. Although he was not an Owenite, Leach became active in the co-operative movement during the 1840s and early 1850s; he was also active in the Short Time movement. He signed the London teetotal declaration in 1841, but he was probably never a teetotaller himself. Leach's credibility was attacked late in 1842 when he was accused of being a 'jobbing politician' during the controversy over the accounts of the NCA. He vigorously denied the charges, and he remained a popular and active Chartist during the 1840s. In May 1846, in an acrimonious episode, Leach was unable to convince his comrades to oppose Peel's Corn Law amendments. For almost a year he was 'silent and inactive', but in 1847 he 'again assumed his natural position as an advocate and defender of the people'. Leach was arrested and imprisoned for nine months for his Chartist activities during 1848. After his release he was a leading advocate of an alliance with the middle class, including his old enemies among the ACLL. He apparently retired from politics soon after, and gave up his book shop to manufacture soft drink. He was married with five children. David Jones has correctly noted that we know very little about the character of men like James Leach. Perhaps the best that can be said of Leach as a public figure is that, in the view of his contemporaries, he was uncomplicated. To O'Connor 'honest' James Leach was a 'plain blunt man'; according to Gammage, 'In addressing a public meeting he was just as free and easy as in a private conversation.' From Engels we get a hint that Leach's bluntness was sometimes stubbornness. In print Engels described Leach as 'honest, trustworthy and capable'; privately he found him 'tremendously imperturbable, but at times abysmally absurd'. Leach was author of *Stubborn Facts from the Factories by a Manchester Operative* (London 1844) and *An Earnest Appeal to the Middle Classes* (Manchester 1850); he also co-edited the *English Patriot and Irish Repealer* during 1848.

Linney, Joseph (1808–87)

Born in Macclesfield, Linney had begun work in a silk-weaving factory as a 4-year-old. He was 'brought up to the silk trade' and worked for many years as a power-loom weaver. By the late 1830s, however, Linney had settled in Manchester and commenced operations as a Chartist bookseller in Garret Road, the income

from which he later supplemented with earnings as a Chartist lecturer. Linney retained close links with the power-loom weavers' union, having taken a prominent part in meetings to support those involved in a major industrial dispute at Guest's Mill on the outskirts of Manchester in late 1837. Linney was a member of the Council of the MPU during 1839 and was involved in numerous public meetings in the months leading up to the Chartist crisis in August. He was arrested in August for attending seditious and unlawful meetings, and languished in a prison-cell at Kirkdale for six weeks before being bailed. At his trial in April 1840 he was released on his own recognisances and ordered to keep the peace. This brush with the law did not deter him. During 1840 he represented the Hulme and Chorlton Chartists at delegate meetings; by the end of the year he was a member of several committees where he was known as the 'Chartist Boroughreeve of Manchester and Salford' on account of his organisational skill. In February 1841 Linney appended his name to the London teetotal Address, and by this stage his name was prominent on the Chartist lecture circuit. Late in 1841, Linney suffered failing health and moved with his wife, Mary, and children to Bilston in the Black Country. In April 1842 he represented Eccles at Joseph Sturge's Complete Suffrage Conference in Birmingham. Home Office records indicate that after the Conference his services were obtained by 'some Magistrates in the Staffordshire Potteries to give lectures to the people for a month, at £2 per week, in consequence of his having represented to the people the folly of breaking machinery'. A month later, in mid-1842, Linney was prominent among the Chartist leaders of the Staffordshire colliers' strike for which he was arrested and later served a total of 21 months' imprisonment. He emerged from prison in 1844 to take a post as manager of the local Chartist day school; a year later, despite his status as a teetotaller he became landlord of the White Horse Inn in Bilston High Street which he continued to run until the late 1850s when he became a pork butcher. In 1847 he stood as a Chartist candidate for the Borough of Dudley and won the show of hands against the sitting Tory MP. Linney remained an active Chartist and trade unionist. During the late 1840s and 1850s he was involved in a range of causes from the Chartist Land Plan to the opposition to the truck system of wage payment. Having moved to Wolverhampton, he became a leading member of the local Working Men's Liberal Association in the mid-1860s. He died in the Wolverhampton workhouse in 1887.

Littler, Richard (dates unknown)

Richard Littler was a tailor who resided in Salford. Although he publicly referred to his political experiences in the Peterloo era, he first came to prominence in mid-1839 as a representative of the Salford RA on the MPU Council. The following year Littler was elected as a Salford delegate to the National Conference in Manchester at which the NCA was founded. He was subsequently elected to the provisional National Executive of the NCA, and in October 1840 he became President of the Salford branch. As an 'abstainer for six years' he appended his name to the London teetotal Address in February 1841. In April he nominated John Campbell as a candidate for the permanent NCA Executive and did not contest the subsequent election. Littler continued to be active during 1841–42 as a Chartist lecturer and as the Salford representative at South Lancashire delegate meetings. Described as an 'indefatigable friend of the people', he was deeply

involved in municipal affairs in Salford. Littler was a staunch supporter of Feargus O'Connor, whom he regarded as 'one of the greatest champions the world had ever seen'; in May 1840 he and his wife Jane had named their new-born son Peter Feargus Littler. Littler was an ardent trade unionist and an advocate of co-operative trading who remained active during the 1840s.

Murray, John (1777–?)

John Murray was born in Ireland and was a boot- and shoemaker by trade. He claimed to have been a 'democrat' from 17 years of age. A 'good historian' and raconteur, he delighted audiences in his adopted home with tales of his involvement with the legendary United Irishmen, of the 'old *Northern Star* in Ireland', and of the tumultuous events of 1798 and 1803. The date when Murray first settled in Manchester is unclear; however, he first came to notice as a 'Sunday collector' for the Manchester Victim Fund Committee in December 1840. He was involved in numerous local Chartist committees and activities during 1841, and in December of that year he was nominated by the Redfern Street branch to the NCA General Council. By March 1842 he was referred to as President of the branch. In that month Murray represented the Manchester shoemakers at a meeting of trades convened by the OACLA and indicated that his trade would support nothing short of the Charter. Later that month he was 'shockingly mangled' in a brawl with the Anti-Corn Law 'Police' during a lecture by O'Connor at the Hall of Science. Murray was a member of the HMC and he had recovered sufficiently by April to take a place in O'Connor's carriage in the parade which culminated in the laying of the foundation stone of the Monument in Ancoats. Respected as an 'old paddy veteran from our sister isle' and a 'radical of 50 years standing', in December 1842 he was nominated by the Carpenters' Hall branch to the NCA General Council. He was an active Chartist during the 1840s, serving as founding agent of the Manchester Co-operative Land Society in 1845. He was also an active member of a Manchester branch of the Irish Confederates in 1848.

Nightingale, Edward (dates unknown)

Born in England, Nightingale was landlord of the General Abercrombie Tap Room in Great Ancoats Street and was active in the Manchester Licensed Victuallers Protection Society. He became involved in local politics early in the 1830s. By the end of 1837 when he gained election as a Manchester Police Commissioner, he had established himself as a prominent figure in the local opposition to the New Poor Law, to the Rural Police Bill and to the proposed Charter of Incorporation for Manchester. Nightingale was a marshal at the first Kersal Moor demonstration in September 1838, and was elected as a Manchester delegate to the Chartist National Convention, although he never attended the proceedings. He was elected to the Council of the MPU in October 1838. In May 1839 he was attacked by local Chartists for being a 'middle class' delegate who had failed to act, and this was followed by a broadside from O'Connor in the *Northern Star* for not attending the Convention. Home Office records show that warrants for his arrest were prepared in early August 1839, but apparently never served. As he had done during the previous year, in 1839 Nightingale was active in the Radical Electors' Association's

local government campaigns; he was also involved in Colonel T. P. Thompson's campaign for the Parliamentary Borough of Manchester in September. Despite the criticism of his conduct within the ranks, Nightingale remained active in local Chartism during 1840. He was known as the 'dictator of New Cross' for his part in orchestrating rough-house tactics at public meetings. Although corn law repealers were most often the victims of Nightingale's activities, it was not as an opponent of repeal that he acted; he was inspired by an unqualified opposition to the 'base, bloody and brutal Whigs' that supported the League. His hatred of the Whigs led him to sell his services as an organiser for the Tory candidate in the Walsall election in early 1841. Not only did this earn him national notoriety and a torrent of criticism as a 'tory-hireling', but, paradoxically, even those Chartists who had criticised his failure to take decisive action in 1839 sought to distance themselves from his conduct. By April 1841 the *Northern Star* stated in an editorial that there was no longer a connection between Nightingale and the Chartists. According to Archibald Prentice (a victim of Nightingale's tactics), the dictator later 'repented' his use of strong-arm methods. In the mid-1840s Nightingale was elected as a Poor Law Guardian from the out-township of Newton. His conversion to liberalism was confirmed when he became a vice-President of the Lancashire Reformers' Union in 1859.

Rankin, Thomas Irvine (1821–?)

Thomas Rankin was born in Scotland and was an engraver by trade. He first came to notice late in 1840 as a 'Collector' for the Manchester Chartist Victim Committee. Despite his youth he was included among O'Connor's 'old list' in April 1841, and at this time he was nominated by the Salford branch to the NCA General Council. Rankin's rapid rise was also reflected in the fact that his name was added to the South Lancashire Lecture Circuit in June 1841. By early 1842 Rankin had given up his trade to enter politics on a full-time basis, becoming Manchester agent for Pinder's Chartist Blacking in addition to his lecturing duties. He was a delegate to London in April 1842 for the presentation of the National Petition. Rankin was also active in municipal politics in Salford. Tall and red-haired, he was a striking figure on platforms where he earned a reputation for violent oratory; he also dabbled in poetry. Rankin continued to be an active Chartist during the 1840s and was arrested and imprisoned in 1848. In 1843 Rankin and his wife Mary named their infant daughter Margaret Ann O'Connor Rankin. At the time of his imprisonment Rankin and his wife had three children.

Richardson, Reginald John (1808–61)

R. J. Richardson has not been treated kindly by historians. To Mark Hovell he was a 'wordy, pedantic, logic-chopper of the worst description'; to David Jones he was a 'bore' and a 'garrulous antiquarian'; while Dorothy Thompson, quoting Lloyd Jones, has drawn attention to his 'rude provincialism'. Apart from these harsh words little has been written about Richardson's career. Who was this man who has attracted such vilification? Richardson was born in the Manchester area.

As an 11-year-old he witnessed the Peterloo massacre, and it was from that day in 1819 that he later dated the origin of his political career. At 14 he became a bonded apprentice to a carpenter and joiner, a trade which he followed well into the 1830s. Richardson was married about 1833 and some time after this he and his wife, Elizabeth, established a newsagency-cum-bookshop in Chapel Street, Salford. An industrial accident forced Richardson to give up his trade, but he maintained close links to the carpenters and joiners' union, being appointed a trustee of Carpenters' Hall after it was built in 1838–9. The Richardson newsagency continued in business for many years, during which he also worked as a newspaper editor, lecturer, pamphleteer, publican and eventually building surveyor. Richardson's first foray into public life came in 1826 when he spoke at meetings in connection with a series of riots by power-loom weavers; he later achieved national notoriety by moving an amendment for universal suffrage during a massive public meeting at the height of the Reform Bill crisis in 1832. Richardson's career in politics and unionism gained momentum during the 1830s. By January 1838 he was Secretary of both the South Lancashire Anti-Poor Law Association and the Executive of the Manchester Trades Council. In April 1838 he was a leading figure in the re-formation of the MPU and spoke at the first Chartist demonstration on Kersal Moor in September when he was elected as a Manchester delegate to the General Convention. For the remainder of 1838 he was the travelling face of Manchester and Salford Chartism, representing the area at numerous major meetings across Britain. At the Convention he was a vocal delegate, producing a well-known pamphlet on the constitutional right to bear arms. He resigned in July 1839 as a result of a succession of disputes with his Manchester constituents. He was arrested in early September 1839 for sedition and conspiracy and, in April 1840, sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. Early in 1839 Richardson had attempted to interest radical MP John Feilden in the formation of an organisation entitled the 'Constitutional Society for Promoting Political Instruction', but this came to naught. From his prison cell he again turned his attention to organisation, composing a detailed plan for a national Chartist body which he published as part of the debate leading up to the formation of the NCA in July 1840. In prison he also wrote a pamphlet entitled the *Rights of Women* and eight lengthy essays on the condition of hand-loom weavers. Richardson was released in December 1840, declaring 'he was a radical reformer of the old school of Major Cartwright and Henry Hunt [and] they might persecute him till doomsday, but he would never alter'. A mark of his continuing popularity in sections of the Chartist movement was his nomination to the NCA Executive after his release, but he did not contest the poll the following year. In February 1841 Richardson represented Burnley at a national Conference and in March he embarked on a lecture tour authorised by the South Lancashire NCA delegates. In June 1841 Richardson was nominated for the borough of Perth; it was a matter of debate whether he was even able to secure a victory at the show of hands over the sitting Tory MP, George Fox Maule, the Treasury Solicitor. By this stage Richardson's relations with the mainstream Manchester Chartists had again soured and, pleading heavy debts, he left Salford in October 1841 to become editor of the *Dundee Chronicle*, a post he held for six months. In April 1842 Richardson attended the Complete Suffrage Conference in Birmingham. By mid-1842 he was back in his native Salford where he established a 'Tract Library'; at this time he also became a 'regular contributor' and later shareholder in Bronterre

O'Brien's *British Statesman*. Richardson was active in a variety of forums of local government including the Salford Select Vestry and elections for Manchester Churchwardens. In October 1839 he was elected to the Salford Police Commission and was re-elected in 1842. Although he remained active in Chartism after 1842–43, his attention shifted primarily to local affairs, being involved in a range of organisations from the Vestry to the Ancient Foot Paths Association. In 1848 he was involved in ill-fated moves to establish a joint working- and middle-class movement based on Joseph Hume's 'Little Charter'. Appearing before a Parliamentary Committee in 1854, Richardson summed up his own career with the claim that he had been involved 'in every movement that has taken place amongst the working classes since I can remember'. In 1840 he was married with four children; at about this time he was described as being 'of middle stature and robust figure, with light hair, in some profusion, and bushy red whiskers, meeting under the chin'. According to the prison inspector, Richardson's 'temper is so low that he began to quarrel with the other Chartists as soon as he arrived', a pattern that was repeated throughout his stormy public career.

Ross, David (dates unknown)

David Ross was born in Ireland and was known as a 'teacher of rhetoric and elocution' by trade. A Catholic, he first came to notice in Manchester through his involvement in the Catholic Total Abstinence Society, and as a member of the 'Mental Liberty Committee' formed to protest against prosecutions of radical and socialist publishers late in 1839. He next earned a reputation as a lecturer in favour of repeal of the corn laws. Although the League denied an official connection, a spurious claim, by mid-1840 he had become vice-President of the Young Men's Anti-Monopoly Association and was regarded as their 'cleverest lecturer'. In July 1840 he met Leach in a public debate on the merits of corn law repeal which proved to be a pivotal event in his career. Not only was Ross defeated, but the experience led to his conversion. By mid-1841 he was referred to as an 'O'Connorite Chartist' having joined the Redfern Street branch of the NCA. Ross was welcomed as a 'valuable and useful advocate of teetotalism', an 'excellent poet' and a 'consistent, straightforward, honest man' who 'will prove a powerful auxiliary to the cause in Manchester'. Within weeks his talents as a public speaker led to his inclusion on the South Lancashire lecture circuit, where he quickly gained a reputation as a 'perfect master of that eloquence which melts the soul...and fires it with enthusiasm'. Ross was arrested after the Plug Plot disturbances, but at his trial in 1843 no evidence was offered against him. During 1843 he moved to Leeds where he ran an elementary school. Ross continued to be an active Chartist lecturer during the 1840s and was involved in the Short Time movement. In late 1845 he was engaged by the National Association of United Trades as a lecturer and undertook a national tour. By the late 1840s Ross had apparently returned to Manchester where he lectured to working-class audiences on 'human physiology and sanitary reform' and was involved in the Vegetarian Society. He was married. One of his lectures was published as *The State of the Country or the Effect of Class Legislation and the Charter as the Remedy* (Manchester, 1842), and several of his poems appeared in the *Northern Star*.

Scholefield, James (1790–1855)

Born in Colne Bridge, Yorkshire, James Scholefield moved to Manchester before 1809 to study at the Salford Academy of Sciences run by the Reverend William Cowherd, a theologian, polymath and founder of a schismatic Swedenborgian sect known as the Bible Christians (Cowherdites). Ordained as a Minister in this sect in 1813, Scholefield served at Christ Church, Hulme, until 1823 when he founded the Round Chapel in Ancoats, where he preached until his death in 1855. Scholefield's religious heritage was a rationalist heterodox theology and an intense notion of public duty which led him into a myriad of reform causes. He was a lifelong advocate of teetotalism (serving as an official in a branch of the Manchester Temperance Society during the 1830s and 1840s), and he was a founding member of the Manchester Vegetarian Society in 1847. Like Cowherd, he was renowned as an apothecary and doctor (at one time he listed his occupation as 'Surgeon'). He earned his reputation for healing during the cholera epidemic that swept through the squalid cellars of Ancoats in 1833, and one of his patented remedies was still on sale in Ancoats in 1904. A committed educationalist, Scholefield worked as a lecturer and he operated a school at the Round Chapel for many years. Scholefield's radical creed took shape amid the suffering and discontent that followed the French wars. By January 1817 he had been brought to the attention of the Home Office as an 'Ultra-Radical Huntite', and he was present at Peterloo in 1819. Scholefield condemned the actions of the Yeomanry Cavalry and those who supported them, and in March 1820 he testified on behalf of Henry Hunt. During the second half of 1820 Scholefield was prominent among the local 'friends of Queen Caroline', and he toured Lancashire preaching sermons for her deliverance. This commitment to popular radicalism continued into the 1830s. In 1833 he succeeded with other radicals in denying the Anglican Church in Manchester a church rate for the first time. In March 1835, following Hunt's death, Scholefield hosted a meeting of radicals who determined to erect a monument to Hunt's memory. (As Chairman of the HMC, Scholefield's perseverance was instrumental in the completion of the monument overlooking his churchyard in Ancoats.) Later in 1835 when Feargus O'Connor visited Manchester for the first time to address the inaugural meeting of the Manchester RA, it was Scholefield who came forward to welcome him. This was the beginning of a friendship with the man who bestowed upon him the title 'Chaplain of the Manchester Chartists'. Scholefield was on the platform at the first Chartist rally on Kersal Moor in September 1838, and he was elected to the Council of the MPU the following month. He was also often called upon to chair large public meetings and dinners. His chapel served as the venue for the National Conference during the Plug Plot strike in 1842 and, although he was not a delegate, he was arrested and tried for sedition and conspiracy but acquitted. Scholefield continued to be an active Chartist after this brush with the law. During the 1840s he was a principal shareholder in the People's Hall in Ancoats and a promoter of the Chartist Land Company. In the 1820s he had promoted a working-class building society, and he was later a supporter of the Christian Chartist Co-operative on Chat Moss. By 1851 Scholefield advocated a middle-class alliance, which was reflected in his role as founding-member of the Manchester branch of the PFRA. Scholefield had an extensive career in local government. He served two terms as a Police Commissioner (1833–36, 1839–42) and, despite his vehement opposition to Manchester's Charter of Incorporation in the late 1830s on

the grounds that it was a reform that did not go far enough, he was elected as a town councillor for two terms (1847–53). Known for his philanthropy, Scholefield assisted the Churchwardens in distributing poor relief. He carried on the opposition to the introduction of the New Poor Law long after others had given up. He was also an opponent of persecution in Ireland, the Standing Army, all taxation, and the Corn Laws. He attended the ACLL's National Conference of Ministers in August 1841. Scholefield was a practical reformer whose activities earned him a level of popularity in working-class Ancoats that 'was second to none': 'The people felt that his sympathy for them was genuine', recalled one commentator, 'and that his expression of it was prudent as well as courageous.' He was married with eight children.

Smith, George Henry (1804–49)

Born at Brinnington near Stockport, Smith was a shoemaker by trade. He had begun his working life, however, as a young boy in a mill in which he suffered greatly: 'for two years he had been obliged to be carried to the mill, and he was flogged daily because he could not perform the task imposed upon him'. As a result Smith became an example of a common phenomenon in the industrial north, a 'factory cripple'. The extent of Smith's injuries was so considerable that he was known for the 'deformity of his body and unearthly countenance'. Smith first came to notice in late 1838 as a leading member of the Hulme branch of the MPU. Subsequently he represented Hulme at MPU Executive meetings. He was involved in the second Chartist demonstration on Kersal Moor in May 1839, and by mid-year he was referred to as Treasurer of the Hulme branch. Smith was arrested in August 1839 on charges of sedition and conspiracy and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment in April 1840. He was liberated after 9 months, having suffered hardship and illness. By March 1841 he had become a vendor of the *Northern Star* and was described as a 'shopkeeper' throughout the 1840s. Reputed to possess a 'manly unsophisticated eloquence', he also gave the occasional Chartist lecture after his release. Smith was often involved in internal controversy in the local Chartist movement. Over the years he received, as he put it, 'his share of slander and abuse...' which culminated in May 1842 when the NCA General Council at Brown Street held an inquiry into his 'conduct' on unspecified charges. Smith was 'exonerated', but in 1843 he joined the Manchester NCSU, an action which led to his expulsion from the NCA. In 1845 Smith rejoined the NCA and was still active in 1848 when he supported an alliance with the middle class. A controversial figure with a reputation for 'secret intrigues and back door plots', he was President of the Manchester Chartists when he died suddenly of cholera in 1849. He was unmarried at the time of his trial in 1840.

Tillman, William (1804–?)

Born at Chatham in Kent, Tillman was a ladies' shoemaker by trade. The date of his settlement in Manchester is not clear, but he probably was the same William Tillman who chaired the Chatham Political Union in the early 1830s, before moving north. He first came to notice in Manchester in early 1839 as a member of the MPU 'agitating Committee'; by May of that year he had been elected Secretary

of the MPU Executive Council and he spoke at the second Kersal Moor demonstration in the same month. Tillman gained local notoriety for keeping a 'black book' as part of a system of exclusive dealing. He was arrested in July 1839 and dragged before the Magistrates, but not a single shopkeeper could be found who was prepared to testify against him. Tillman was arrested for a second time in August 1839 on a charge of seditious and unlawful meeting, and in April 1840 he was sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour. After his release Tillman continued as Secretary of the MPU; in July 1840 he represented Manchester at the national delegate Conference in Manchester, which led to the formation of the NCA. Subsequently he was elected Secretary of the provisional NCA Executive. By this time he had become a full-time agitator, earning his living as NCA Secretary (at £2 per week), and as a Chartist lecturer. In December 1840 Tillman was nominated to the permanent NCA Executive, but by March 1841 he had been replaced by John Campbell as NCA Secretary, and his name was dropped from the South Lancashire Lecture Circuit for not attending to his 'duty'. Tillman accepted this loss of position and remained active in Manchester Chartism, giving the occasional lecture and writing the occasional letter to the *Northern Star* during 1841–42. He represented the Chartists of Chorlton and Hulme at important meetings of trades and other public bodies in the lead-up to the Plug Plot strikes in mid-1842. Regarded as a 'very tender feeling young man', Tillman was a vocal advocate of repeal of the Legislative Union with Ireland, and of temperance and education – especially female education – which he saw as crucial in developing the next generation of radicals. He was a single man at the time of his arrest in 1839.

Wheeler, James (1791–1854)

Born in England, James Wheeler was originally a boot- and shoemaker by trade. By the early 1820s he had exchanged this trade for a career as a radical 'bookseller', and by the late 1830s he was styled a 'printer' and was well-known in the streets of Manchester as the operator of a 'perambulating advertiser'. In 1839 Wheeler stated that he had been a 'democrat' for 33 years. During that time he had been arrested no less than 18 times for what he called his 'patriotic conduct', a record reflected in the sobriquet, the 'Old Veteran', given to him by Peter McDouall. Wheeler first became involved in politics in 1812 and was a hardened activist by the time he was wounded by the sabres of the Yeomanry Cavalry at Peterloo in 1819. During the 1820s he compiled lists of Manchester volunteers to help the radical publisher, Richard Carlile, and in 1829 he was involved in a series of power-loom-weavers riots. He was an active supporter of Henry Hunt during the Reform Bill crisis. During 1837–38 he was a leading figure in the revival of the MPU and in the campaign against the introduction of the New Poor Law. Wheeler spoke at the first Chartist demonstration on Kersal Moor in September 1838. During 1839 his house/printing premises in Whittle Street was home to the MPU Executive. In December 1839 he was arrested for sedition, but at his trial in April 1840 he was discharged on his own recognisances and ordered to keep the peace. In August 1840 Wheeler was elected to the Chartist National Victim Fund Committee and about this time he became President of the Manchester Universal Suffrage Association meeting in Tib Street. In April 1841 he was nominated by the Tib Street branch to the NCA General Council and was included on O'Connor's

'old list'. Wheeler was badly injured in a brawl at an anti-corn law demonstration in Stevenson Square in June 1841, but he recovered sufficiently to represent Manchester and Salford at the liberation parade for Feargus O'Connor in York in August 1841. Late in 1842 he became President of a small group of local Chartists known as the 'Friends of the *British Statesman*'; he was again nominated to the NCA General Council at this time. During the 1840s Wheeler played a leading role in the establishment of the People's Institute in Ancoats of which he was later President and a trustee. He was arrested for the twentieth time for radical activities in 1848, but was acquitted at his trial. Wheeler was married – his wife Nancy had been wounded at Peterloo and was a notorious radical republican in her own right – and had two children named after Carlile and Hunt. His son-in-law, John Livesey, carried on the family tradition when he was imprisoned for selling arms during the Chartist crisis of 1839. The man he named his son after, Richard Carlile, addressed public letters in his *Republican* to 'Citizen Wheeler', but privately he later referred to his tenacious Manchester ally as a 'dirty devil'. A 'poor man', Wheeler was highly esteemed among the Manchester Chartists; when he died in 1854 he was buried in the 'Patriot's Vault' under the Hunt Monument in Ancoats.

Whittaker, Thomas (1812–?)

Born in England, Whittaker was a joiner by trade. Described as a 'very zealous operative', he first came to prominence in late 1840 as President of the Brown Street branch of the NCA. An ardent teetotaller, in early 1841 Whittaker appended his name to the London Address calling on Chartists to take the pledge. Later in the 1840s he ran a temperance hotel in New Cross which was a popular Chartist haunt. Whittaker was an active trade unionist and was involved in several important meetings of the Manchester trades in the lead-up to the Plug Plot strike in August 1842. During August he represented the Manchester joiners at the Trades Delegates Conference which oversaw the strike action, seconding a key resolution to place the Charter at the head of the list of demands. Whittaker continued to be an active Chartist and trade unionist during the 1840s and he was arrested and imprisoned in 1848. He was a devout Roman Catholic. As strong supporters of Feargus O'Connor, he and his wife Anne named a son 'Thomas Feargus Whittaker' in October 1840.

Willis, William (1807–61)

Born the son of a Manchester machine-maker, William 'Bill' Willis began his working life as an errand boy for Newton's bookstall in London Road. Eventually Willis established his own bookshop, but as a result of fluctuating fortunes he moved through several shops. During hard times he survived by composing and printing the dying confessions of common criminals, and at one stage he was forced to take employment as a machine–maker. Willis was an ardent radical. In the early 1830s he helped Abel Heywood establish his radical newsagency, and he later employed John Doherty, the pioneer trade unionist. Willis came to prominence as an opponent of the New Poor Law. He was on the platform at the first Chartist demonstration on Kersal Moor in September 1838, and he was elected to the Council of the MPU in October

the same year. Afterwards he served as Treasurer. A 'warm advocate' of the politics of the *Northern Star*, at this time Willis also became Secretary of the Salford RA. He was also involved in various forums of local government such as the Salford Select Vestry, and he served as both a Manchester Police Commissioner (1837–40) and a Salford Police Commissioner (1838–41). He was active in the Radical Electors' Association as an opponent of Manchester's Charter of Incorporation in 1838–39, and he supported Colonel Thompson's campaign for the Borough of Manchester in September 1839. In April 1840 Willis stood unsuccessfully for the office of Salford Overseer. In May 1839, after a dispute with the MPU Council, he resigned from the Executive and as Secretary of the Salford RA, but despite this he continued to be an active Chartist during the 1840s. In 1848 he provided bail for leading Chartists and was an agent for the Chartist Land Company. In 1883 Joseph Johnson recalled that late in life Willis 'abjured Protestantism and his liberal political views and became a Roman Catholic' – a conclusion also supported by W. E. A. Axon. Willis was married with six children.

Wroe, James (1789–1844)

James Wroe was born in Manchester. He commenced business as a seller of old books and scrap-iron from a stall in Port Street about 1810. By 1818 he had established a bookshop in Great Ancoats Street; at this time he had become involved in a group known as the 'Friends of Liberty of the Press' and participated in meetings to support those detained under the suspension of Habeas Corpus. Early in 1819 he became printer and publisher of the *Manchester Observer* and was present at Peterloo in August. Five weeks after the massacre Wroe was arrested for libelling the Prince of Wales in the *Manchester Observer*, and on numerous counts of selling illegal newspapers. He was subsequently heavily fined and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Wroe's wife and two brothers were also later gaoled. After serving six months Wroe was brought before the Lancashire Assizes on further charges, but was given no additional punishment on the understanding that he would 'not interfere in any more political matters' – an injunction which he defied for the next twenty years until his death in 1844. After the expiry of his sentence Wroe faced outstanding fines and his printing and publishing business experienced financial difficulties. By 1826 he was forced to enter King's Bench Prison as a debtor. He was aided by 'admirers of his sturdy character' (although the details are not clear), and released some time during 1827. After his liberation Wroe set about re-establishing a book- and music-selling business, and in 1831–32 he combined this with running a Co-operative Society store. Wroe also recommenced his career in radical politics. During 1827–28 he became part of Richard Carlile's provincial network of supporters, and he continued to be active in politics during the 1830s. In 1838 he was prominent in the rejuvenation of the MPU; he was on the platform at the first Chartist demonstration on Kersal Moor in September, and he was elected as a delegate to the Chartist General Convention. A month later he was elected to the Council of the MPU. Having never attended the proceedings in London, Wroe resigned as a Convention delegate in May 1839. Despite this he continued to be active in Chartist affairs during 1839–42, but his main interest was local government. Wroe's career in local government began in 1830 when he was elected to the Manchester Police Commission (re-elected 1833,

1836 and 1839). In the late 1830s Wroe was a leading figure in the campaign against the granting of a Charter of Incorporation for Manchester. In 1838–39 he was Secretary of the Radical Electors' Association, an organisation committed to the election of candidates opposed to Incorporation. In November 1839 he was unsuccessful in a bid for election to the new Council. Wroe was also regularly involved in other forums of local government such as the Select Vestry and in the election of Churchwardens. He served on the Board of the Surveyor of Highways between 1838 and 1844 where his assiduity was evident in the fact that he attended all but one or two meetings held every year. Carlile, who lodged with Wroe on northern tours, regarded his host as a 'real Lancashire Radical in politics, with a Christian Religion to suit his political views': 'The sound of radical reform is, with Mr. Wroe, a gospel sound.' Wroe was married with five children who faced severe hardship after his death in 1844.

Appendix B: Occupational Profile of Chartist Membership

Noted contemporaries described the population of Manchester and Salford as overwhelmingly working-class and there is evidence to suggest that the Chartist movement reflected this social composition. This appendix contains a list of 316 occupations of Manchester and Salford Chartists. Given that 119 280 local people signed the 1842 Chartist petition there is a need for caution when dealing with such a small sample (0.26 per cent), nevertheless the thoroughly working-class nature of the local movement is evident. Even when all the 'middle-class' and 'lower middle-class' occupations are totalled (including all shopkeepers, news-vendors and booksellers), they constitute a mere 10.17 per cent of the sample.

It is also possible to draw comparisons with other similar samples.[1] Koditschek's analysis of Bradford, for example, has found that 'petit bourgeois Chartists never constituted more than about 5 per cent of all rank-and-file activists'. If Jones's list of the occupations of all NCA General councillors in 1841 are re-calculated to conform to divisions adopted here, then the top two occupations are the same as for Manchester and Salford: shoemaker (shoemaker, cordwainer and boot- and shoemaker) and weaver (power-loom weaver, hand-loom weaver and weaver). Boot- and shoemakers also top Goodway's list of the occupations of the London Chartists, 1838–48. In Godfrey's sample of 21 Manchester Chartists arrested in 1839–40 weaver topped the list (5) and shoemaker was third (3). The notable difference between Jones's national profile and the Manchester and Salford sample is the place of mechanics in the local movement. Whereas mechanics constituted 7.3 per cent of the Manchester–Salford sample, they rank fortieth and represent a tiny 0.4 per cent of Jones's national total, re-emphasising the breadth of Manchester's industrial base and the importance of the making of machinery in the industrial north.

Finally over 10 per cent of the occupations in the Manchester–Salford sample were part of the 'trade of agitation' or were sustained as part of the informal Chartist economy (from lecturers and news-vendors to some shopkeepers and the manufacturer of Chartist breakfast powder). This is about five times the level in Jones's national profile of General Councillors. As might be expected, Godfrey's national leadership sample contains a much higher number of professional politicians (23 per cent).

1 D. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists*, London, 1975, pp. 30–2; D. Goodway, *London Chartism: 1838–49*, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 16–17; C. Godfrey, *Chartist Lives: The Anatomy of a Working-class Movement*, New York, 1987, pp. 51–5, 66–82; T. Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban-Industrial Society: Bradford 1750–1850*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 488–9. It should be noted that Jones separates 'shoemakers', 'boot and shoemakers' and 'cordwainers' in his table. Following Goodway and Godfrey I have combined these. On the other hand, Jones and Godfrey offer only the category of 'weaver'; I have retained 'weaver', 'hand-loom weaver' and 'power-loom weaver'.

Rank	*Occupation*	*Number*	*%*
1	Shoemaker (cordwainer)	34	10.75
2	Mechanic	23	7.30
3	Weaver	20	6.32
4	Lecturer	19	6.01
5	Spinner	13	4.11
6	Joiner	12	3.79
6	Fustian-cutter	12	
6	Painter	12	
7	Dyer	11	3.48
8	Tailor	10	3.16
8	Hammerman	10	
8	Operative (labourer)	10	
8	Newsagent/ bookseller	10	
9	Power-loom weaver	9	2.84
9	Smith	9	
9	Boilermaker	9	
10	Printer	7	2.21
11	Shopkeeper	6	1.89
12	Carder	5	1.58
12	Hand-loom weaver	5	
13	Hairdresser	4	1.26
13	Engraver	4	
13	Preacher	4	
14	Warehouseman	3	0.94
14	Bricklayer	3	
15	Courier	2	0.63
15	Tin-plate worker	2	
15	Linen draper	2	
15	Teacher	2	
15	Cabinet-maker	2	
15	Baker	2	
15	Manufacturer	2	
15	Reporter	2	
15	Piecer	2	
15	Warper	2	
15	Self-acting-mule minder	2	
15	Hatter	2	
15	Packer	2	
15	Publican	2	
15	Carpenter	2	
16	Breakfast-powder maker	1	0.31
16	Brace-maker	1	
16	Nail-maker	1	
16	Size-dealer	1	
16	Silk-manufacturer	1	
16	Chair-maker	1	
16	Lawyer	1	

Rank	*Occupation*	*Number*	*%*
16	Stonemason	1	
16	Millwright	1	
16	Fruiterer	1	
16	Corn merchant	1	
16	Manufacturing chemist	1	
16	Overlooker	1	
16	Gunsmith	1	
16	Glass-blower	1	
16	Brush-maker	1	
16	Porter	1	
16	Machine-maker	1	
16	Bookbinder	1	
16	Craftsman	1	
16	Block-printer	1	
16	Silk-dresser	1	
	Total	**316**	

Appendix C: The Chartist Banners

1: Large silk banner of the Union, Showing on one side a figure of Justice, holding in her hand a balance, supported by the British Lion, the emblems of Wisdom, Unity, Peace and Strength, surmounted by a British standard, with the motto, 'Peace, Law and Order'. Inscription – 'Manchester Political Union'. Reverse – 'Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and Vote by Ballot'.
2: Black banner. On one side, 'Repeal of the New Poor Law Bill'. On the reverse, 'Universal Suffrage, Short Parliaments, Equitable Adjustment'.
3: The Red Rose of England
4: Harp of Erin
5: Thistle of Scotland
6: White silk banner of the Universal Suffrage Association. Labour the source of all wealth – Liberty & Equality.
7: Union banner. Britannia seated on a rock, trampling on the chains of despotism, holding in her right hand the trident of Neptune, surmounted by a cap of liberty, and in her left hand the 'People's Charter', while the British lion rouses to maintain the Charter; the following motto in a semicircle over her head – 'For a nation to be free, 'tis sufficient that she wills it'. Reverse – 'England expects that every man, THIS DAY, will do his duty'.
8: White silk ground, gold letters shaded, cap of liberty, scarlet; motto – 'The earth is the right of man'. Reverse – 'He that will not work, neither shall he eat' *[sic]*; 2nd Thessalonians, ch. 3 v. 10.
9: White banner – Inscription – 'If we are too ignorant to make taxes, we are too ignorant to pay them.'
If we are too ignorant to make laws, we are too ignorant to obey them'.
10: Banner – full-length portrait of Henry Hunt, Esq. Inscription – 'The man who never deserted the people'. Reverse – 'Equality the first law of nature'. 'First want of man – chief bond of our Association'.
11: Massacre of Peter's Field, description of. White ground, black letters, 'Universal suffrage', 'Vote by Ballot'.
12: Splendid banner of the Brown Street Branch (No.1). On one side a portrait of Dr McDouall, with the Inscription – 'P.M. McDouall is our Friend'. On the reverse the motto – 'God and our Rights!'
13: Splendid green flag. Inscription – 'Liberty and Equality', surmounting the Rose, Shamrock, and Thistle. Reverse – the same device, surmounted by the motto, 'Labour, the Source of all Wealth'.
14: Tricoloured flag. Inscription, 'The Rights of Man'.
15: Large splendid flag, with white fringe. Inscription – 'Salford Charter Association'. Reverse – 'For a nation to be free, it is sufficient she wills it.'
16: Banner, containing a full-length representation of Feargus O'Connor, and an inscription to the effect that the aforesaid girls were the 'Manchester Female Political Union, No. 1 District'.

17: A large banner. Inscription – 'Liberty and Equality.'
18: A large banner. Inscription – 'For a nation to be free, 'tis sufficient that she wills it.'
19: Splendid banner. Inscribed – 'Universal Suffrage, Equitable Adjustment.'
20: White Flag – 'May they who make the chains of slavery ever want employment', surmounted by a cap of liberty.
21: Splendid highly-executed painting, representing the three Welsh Patriots in full length, bearing their names in gold letters. Reverse – the Six Points of the Charter.
22: Large scarlet flag of the Royal Arms of England.
23: Beautiful green silk flag, gold letters – 'National Charter Association'.
24: Blue silk banner, carried in a cart, 'Prosperity to the productive classes, the foundation of a nation's greatness'.
25: Banner –'Frost, Williams and Jones', Reverse – 'Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments and Vote by Ballot'.
26: Green silk banner, bearing the Six Points of the Charter upon it.
27: A large white banner – 'Welcome to the patriots, may they see the sons of industry prosperous and free'. Reverse – 'Universal Suffrage' and the other points of the Charter.
28: A splendid painting of Feargus O'Connor, with Henry Hunt pointing from the clouds, and giving him the following charge – 'Welcome, Feargus! thou hast been found faithful; now lead my people on to victory'. Reverse – 'National Charter Association'.
29: Large banner. Motto – 'Universal Suffrage and no surrender'. Reverse – 'We have set our lives upon the cast; and we will stand the hazard of the die'.
30: Large green flag. Motto – 'The husbandman that laboureth shall be first partaker of the fruits; and he that will not work neither shall he eat. The Charter and no surrender'. Reverse – 'Down with every faction that is opposed to the rights and liberties of the people'.
31: Flag – 'More pigs and less parsons'.
32: Large, highly-finished oil painting of Bronterre O'Brien with his name in letters of gold, represented sitting in his library, with the 'Poor Man's Guardian' in his hand. On the reverse was – 'I cling to this transitory life only through my love of country and my thirst for justice. The more eager the monster to terminate my career here below, the stronger do I feel the necessity of filling up every hour that remains to me with actions useful to my fellow creatures'.
33: Another large, well-finished, full-length, oil-painted portrait of Feargus O'Connor Esq., the 'Champion of the people's rights'. Reverse – 'A nation should have courage to achieve its liberty, with power to defend it, wisdom to secure it, and generosity to communicate it'.
34: Green silk flag, with 'Feargus O'Connor, the champion of the people's rights'; from Miles Platting. Reverse – 'May there henceforth be but one law, that of nature, but one code, that of reason; one throne, that of justice; and one altar, that of union'.
35: Banner. 'A Government that neglects the physical and moral wants of the people ought not to exist'.
36: Oil painting of Mr Benbow, with appropriate mottos.

37: Very large green silk banner, with a white border. 'The people – the foundation – the source of all power'. Reverse – 'Remember the foul deeds of Peterloo'.

38: Brown Street white flag. 'Liberation of Feargus O'Connor Esq, the unflinching advocate of the people's rights'.

39: Banner. Motto – 'The People's Charter; and Repeal of the Union'. Obverse – 'The producers of wealth should be the first consumers'.

40: Banner. 'Manchester Political Union – Peace, Law, and Order'.

41: A large banner, an oil-painting belonging to the youths, bearing the impression of the card of the Association. [This is Our Charter, God is Our Guide].

42: A large black flag surmounted by the French blood-red cap of liberty and a large banner with the inscription, 'Freedom's battle once begun, Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son, Though baffled oft, is ever won'.

43: 'Down with class legislation'.

44: Massacre of Peterloo. On the reverse, on a black ground, the inscription 'Murder demands Justice'.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

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3. A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, London, 1959.
4. M. Cullen, 'The Chartists and Education', *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. x, no. 2, October 1976, p. 164.
5. A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, Harmondsworth, 1980, p. 56.
6. D. Read, 'Chartism in Manchester' in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, op. cit., pp. 29–64; E. & R. Frow, *Chartism in Manchester 1838–58*, Manchester, 1980.
7. *Poor Man's Guardian*, 23 November 1833, p. 380.
8. *New Moral World*, 11 December 1841, p. 199.
9. *Northern Star*, 11 May 1839, p. 7.
10. *Hansard* [House of Commons], 2 May 1842, col. 1375; *Northern Star*, 23 April 1842, p. 6.
11. Some notable exceptions include J. A. Epstein, 'Some Aspects of Working Class Politics, Organisation and Culture: Nottingham Chartism in the 1840s' in J. A. Epstein & D. Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience*, London, 1982, pp. 221–68; D. Goodway, *London Chartism 1838–48*, Cambridge, 1982.
12. D. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists*, London, 1975; E. Royle, *Chartism*, London, 1980; D. Thompson, *The Chartists*, London, 1984.
13. Fustian was a thick, twilled, short napped cotton cloth – usually dyed dark – and, as the first cheap substitute for the traditional woollen cloth, was worn predominantly by nineteenth-century workmen.
14. D. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 120–1.
15. *Manchester Times*, 9 March 1839, p. 3.
16. *Northern Star*, 1 August 1840, p. 1.
17. *Northern Star*, 16 January 1841, p. 2. For Doyle, see App. A.
18. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 30 November 1839, pp. 1, 2; *Regenerator and Chartist Circular*, 7 December 1839, pp. 56–7. For Heywood, Linney and Ross, see App. A.
19. HO 45/249c, fol. 346; *Northern Star*, 24 September 1842, p. 1.
20. E. P. Thompson, 'The Peculiarities of the English' (1965), reprinted in *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*, London, 1979, p. 65. See also I. Clendinnen, 'Understanding the Heathen at home: E. P. Thompson and his school', *Historical Studies*, vol. 18, no. 72, April 1979, pp. 435–41.
21. This concept is derived from E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Harmondsworth, 1972.

22. F. Fukuyama, 'The End of History?', *National Interest*, no. 16, Summer 1989, pp. 3–18.
23. E. P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory*, op. cit., p. 234.

1 'THE OLD IMMORAL WORLD'

1. R. Cooper, *A Contrast Between the New Moral World and the Old Immoral World: A Lecture Delivered in the Social Institution, Salford*, Manchester, 1838, p. 12.
2. V. Pons, 'Contemporary Interpretations of Manchester in the 1830s and 1840s', in J. D. Wirth & R. L. Lyons (eds), *Manchester and Sao Paulo: Problems of Rapid Urban Growth*, Stanford, 1978, pp. 51–76; T. Carlyle, *Past and Present* (1843), London, n.d., p. 247.
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5. See J. Fielden, *The Curse of the Factory System* (1836), London, 1969, p. 67; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 2 September 1837, col. 519; J. M. Ludlow & Lloyd Jones, *Progress of the Working Class 1832–1867* (1867), Clifton, 1973, p. 10.
6. V. Pons, op. cit., p. 51.
7. D. Ross, *The State of the Country, or the Effect of Class Legislation: and the Charter as the Remedy*, Manchester, 1842, p. 2.
8. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 1 June 1839, p. 4.
9. F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), London, 1979, pp. 78f. See also R. Dennis, *English Industrial Cities of the Nineteenth Century: A Social Geography*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 69–73.
10. See *Northern Star*, 29 September 1838, p. 7; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 5 January 1839, p. 2; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 6 January 1839, pp. 3–4. For Doherty, see R. G. Kirby & A. E. Musson, *The Voice of the People: John Doherty, 1798-1854, Trade Unionist, Radical and Factory Reformer*, Manchester, 1975.
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12. F. Engels, op. cit., p. 79; R. Dennis, op. cit., p. 69.
13. *Parliamentary Gazetteer of England and Wales*, 1840–44, vol. 3, pp. 357–8; J. Aston, *A Picture of Manchester* (1816), Manchester, 1969, pp. 204–14; B. Love, *Manchester As It Is: or Notices of the Institutions, Manufactures, Commerce, Railways, Etc., of the Metropolis of Manufactures* (1839), Manchester, 1971, p. 191; A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, London, 1980, p. 108.

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16. See W. B. Neale, *Juvenile Delinquency in Manchester: Its Causes and History, Its Consequences and Some Suggestions for its Cure*, Manchester, 1840, p. 4; F. Vigier, *Change and Apathy: Liverpool and Manchester during the Industrial Revolution*, Massachusetts, 1970, p. 141.
17. See [J. Easby], *Manchester and Manchester People, with a Sketch of Bolton, Stockport, Ashton, Rochdale and Oldham by a Citizen of the World*, Manchester, 1843, p. 20. See also *North of England Magazine: A Monthly Journal of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, March 1842, p. 105.
18. J. Aston, op. cit., p. 32.
19. In August 1839 a band of 150 Chartists attended the Collegiate Church to disrupt the service as a form of protest. See *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 10 August 1839, p. 2.
20. B. Love, *Manchester As It Is*, op. cit., p. 68; A. Redford, *A History of Local Government in Manchester*, London, 1950, vol. 2, p. 106; F. Engels, op. cit., pp. 83–4. See also *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 23 April 1842, p. 2.
21. See *Manchester Times*, 11 May 1839, p. 3. For Dixon see App. A.
22. J. P. Kay, op. cit., p. 38.
23. H. Miller, *First Impressions of England and Its People*, Edinburgh, 1874, pp. 35–6. See also C. Bracegirdle, *The Dark River: The Irwell*, Altrincham, 1973.
24. W. Cooke-Taylor, op. cit., pp. 13–14.
25. W. Cooke-Taylor, op. cit., p.164; F. Engels, op. cit., p. 80.
26. E. Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1842), ed. W. Flinn, Edinburgh, 1965, p. 111. Howard was Senior Physician at the Ardwick and Ancoats Dispensary.
27. J. P. Kay, op. cit., pp. 30–1.
28. *Manchester Guardian*, 1 December 1838, p. 3. For Nightingale, see App. A.
29. *Manchester Times*, 20 October 1838, p. 3.
30. J. Aiken, *A Description of the County from Thirty to Forty Miles Round Manchester* (1795), New York, 1968, p. 192; F. Engels, op. cit., p. 85. See also *The Autobiography of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, ed. B. C. Bloomfield, London, 1964, p. 7.
31. E. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 344.
32. ibid., pp. 343–4. See also *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 22 May 1841, p. 61.
33. *Trades' Journal* (Manchester), 3 October 1840, pp. 59–60.
34. B. Love, *Handbook of Manchester Being a Second and Enlarged Edition of Manchester As It Is*, Manchester, 1842, p. 101.
35. Cited in B. Love, *Handbook of Manchester*, op. cit., p. 104. See also *Manchester Statistical Society Transactions*, pt. 1, BA M/f 3982, Item 18;

T. S. Ashton, *Economic and Social Investigation in Manchester 1833–1933*, London, 1977, p. 21.

36. E. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 221.
37. A. de Tocqueville, *Journeys to England and Ireland* (1835), ed. J. P. Mayer, New York, 1968, p. 95.
38. J. Adshead, *Distress in Manchester: Evidence of the State of the Labouring Classes in 1840–2*, London, 1842, pp. 14–15. See also *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 6 August 1842, p. 3.
39. A. de Tocqueville, op. cit., p. 95. See also W. Cooke-Taylor, op. cit., pp. 13–14.
40. J. Adshead, op. cit., p. 15.
41. B. Love, *Handbook of Manchester*, op. cit., pp. 104–5.
42. E. Chadwick, op. cit., pp. 412–13.
43. B. Love, *Handbook of Manchester*, op. cit., p. 111. See also *New Moral World*, 19 June 1841, p. 387; *Northern Star*, 20 May 1848, p. 7.
44. *Northern Star*, 2 October 1841, p. 7.
45. *Trades' Journal*, 3 October 1840, p. 60; *Northern Star*, 26 August 1841, p. 4.
46. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 28 March 1840, p. 4; J. Adshead, op. cit., p. 16; A. de Tocqueville, op. cit., p. 93; *PP Select Committee on the Health of Towns*, 1840, vol. XI, App. 2, pp. 221–2. For Butterworth, see App. A.
47. J. Adshead, op. cit., pp. 26–7.
48. G. Buckland, *Forth Report of the Ministry to the Poor* (1837), pp. 15–16, *Mf. Manchester Domestic Missionary Society 1834–1908*. See also R. Southey, op. cit., p. 210; F. Engels, op. cit., p. 96; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 14 April 1838, p. 3; 8 January 1842, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 19 January 1850, p. 7.
49. J. Mortimer, op. cit., p. 61; A. Briggs, 'The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities,' *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. X, no. 3, 1952, p. 302.
50. 17 164 males and 22 199 females including 2303 male and 1948 female children between the ages of 9 and 14.
51. *Parliamentary Gazetteer*, op. cit., p. 357. The extensive cotton trade was reflected in the frequent use of the colloquialism 'Cottonopolis' for Manchester, but this obscures the diversity of its industrial base. The *Gazetteer* also listed bleaching, calico printing, glazing, dying, and the preparation of the various liquids, oils and acids required in the different processes; the making of machinery itself, encompassing steam engines, water and other wheels, mill-gearing, locomotive engines as well as 'iron and brass foundries, smithies, and engineering establishments in great number and of immense magnitude'. Additionally, the manufacture of paper, hats, pins, ropes and twines were 'all extensively' pursued.
52. B. Love, *Handbook of Manchester* op. cit., p. 49; *Manchester As It Is*, op. cit., p. 201.
53. A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures or an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain* (1835), London, 1967, p. 18. See also H. Hartwell, 'The Characteristics of Manchester in a Series of Letters to the Editor, No. 6', *North of England Magazine*, July 1842, p. 345; L. Faucher, *Manchester in 1844: its Present*

Condition and Future Prospects [translated with additional notes by J. P. Culverwell] (1844), London, 1969, p. 92.

54. *Northern Star*, 11 July 1840, p. 1. See also F. Engels, op. cit., p. 90. For Leach, see App. A.
55. S. Marcus, *Engels, Manchester and the Working Class*, New York, 1974, p. 39–40; *Northern Star*, 16 May 1840, p. 8; *Poor Man's Advocate*, 21 April 1832, p. 105; *Poor Man's Guardian*, 21 January 1832, pp. 255–6.
56. Reprinted in W. E. A. Axon, 'Poems of Lancashire Places' in E. Axon (ed.), *Bygone Lancashire*, Manchester, 1892, pp. 212–13. For Rogerson and the Sun Inn Poets, see Manchester Central Reference Library, Local History Library, Newspaper Cuttings: *Ben Brierley's Journal*, March 1872; M. Vicinus, *The Industrial Muse*, London, 1974, pp. 159–60; idem., 'Literary Voices of an Industrial Town: Manchester 1810–70' in H. J. Dyos & M. Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City*, vol. 3, London, 1973, pp. 745 & passim.
57. E. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain* (1835), London, 1966, p. 345; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 28 September 1839, p. 4.
58. F. Engels, op. cit., pp. 79–80, 92.
59. L. M. Hayes, *Reminiscences of Manchester and some of Its Local Surroundings from the Year 1840*, London, 1905, p. 51; J. Mortimer, op. cit., pp. 55–6; S. Marcus, op. cit., p. 59n; J. Seed, 'Unitarianism, Political Economy and the Antinomies of Liberal Culture in Manchester 1830–50', *Social History*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1982, pp. 22–3; R. Dennis, op. cit., 69.
60. [J. Aston], *The Manchester Guide: A Brief Historical Description of the Towns of Manchester and Salford, the Public Buildings and the Charitable and Literary Institutions*, Manchester, 1804, p. 275. See also F. Vigier, op. cit., p. 132; B. Love, *Manchester As It Is,* op. cit., pp. 181–2, 200–1.
61. H. Hartwell, op. cit., *North of England Magazine*, March 1842, pp. 94, 96; A. Prentice, op. cit., p. 289.
62. Prince, reprinted in M. Vicinus, *The Industrial Muse*, op. cit., plate 14. See also *Regenerator and Chartist Circular*, 4 January 1840, pp. 6–7.
63. *British Statesman*, 16 July 1842, p. 10; *Northern Star*, 16 July 1842, p. 1. See also H. Hartwell, op. cit., *North of England Magazine*, July 1842, p. 347; J. T. Slugg, op. cit., p. 12. Engels recognised the significance of Kersal Moor as a plebeian stronghold to the Manchester Chartists in his reference to it as 'mons sacer' op. cit., pp. 78, 256.
64. W. Cooke-Taylor, op. cit., pp. 1–2. For other examples of this very common image of Manchester see S. J., *Summer Evenings with Old Weavers*, Manchester, 1881, p. 5; *The Squib: being a Satire on Passing Events in Lancashire*, 29 September 1832, p. 78; H. Miller, op. cit., p. 34; J. Mortimer, op. cit., p. 33; A. Briggs, 'The Chimney of the World', *New Statesman*, 22 March 1958, p. 379.
65. As J. A. Roebuck recalled on passing from the countryside into Manchester in 1841, the 'suddenness of the transition doubtless added to the sensation of misery and oppression'. Cited in R. E. Leader, *Life and Letters of John Arthur Roebuck*, London, 1897, pp. 135–6. See also *New Moral World*, 3 April 1841, p. 215; R. Williams, *The Country and the City*, New York, 1973.
66. W. Cooke-Taylor, op. cit., p. 258.

67. D. Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724–26), London, 1978, pp. 544–5; J. Aiken, op. cit., pp. 156–7.
68. B. Love, *Manchester As It Is,* op. cit., p. 12.
69. B. Love, *Handbook of Manchester*, op. cit., p. 24; L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 65n. See also *Parliamentary Gazetteer* op. cit., p. 354; H. Ashworth, 'Statistical Illustrations of the Past and Present State of Lancashire and more particularly the Hundred of Salford', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. 5, 1842, pp. 248–9; F. Vigier, op. cit., pp. 103n, 130. See also *Northern Star*, 30 May 1846, p. 3.
70. A. de Tocqueville, op. cit., p. 93; L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 26.
71. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 1 June 1839, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 1 June 1839, p. 6.
72. HO 52/42 Shaw to Home Office, 20 December 1839. See also App. A.
73. E. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 244.
74. Ibid., p. 223. See also *Northern Star*, 16 June 1838, p. 5; W. Johns, 'Report on the Working of the Registration and Marriage Acts, during the two years 1837–8 and 1838–9, in the Registration district of Manchester', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. 3, July 1840, p. 195–205.
75. L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 72; J. P. Kay, op. cit., p. 68; *Northern Star*, 2 October 1841, p. 6.
76. *Bronterre's National Reformer*, 18 February 1837, pp. 52–3; *Northern Star*, 20 June 1840, p. 8.
77. J. Adshead, op. cit., pp. 46–7.
78. D. Noble, 'On the Influence of the Factory System in the Development of Pulmonary Consumption', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. 5, 1842, p. 276. See also *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* [Supplement], 2 July 1842, p. 1.
79. *Manchester Times*, 6 October 1838, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 16 March 1839, p. 1; 20 June 1840, p. 8; 22 August 1840, p. 7; 5 September 1840, p. 3.
80. B. Brierley, *Home Memories and Recollections of a Life*, Manchester, 1886, p. 19. See also N. Kirk, *The Growth of Working Class Reformism in Mid-Victorian England*, London, 1985, pp. 85f.
81. J. P. Kay, op. cit., pp. 22, 25.
82. E. Baines, op. cit., pp. 451, 454; A. Ure, op. cit., pp. 309, 374–6.
83. *Northern Star*, 24 April 1841, p. 6; W. Dodd, *A Narrative of the Experiences and Sufferings of W[illiam] D[odd], A Factory Cripple, Written by Himself* (1841), London, 1967, p. 303.
84. Cited in *English Chartist Circular*, 19 July 1843, p. 319; *Poor Man's Advocate*, 26 May 1832, p. 145. See also 9 June 1832, p. 161; 16 June 1832, p. 169; 23 June 1832, p. 177. An ardent defender of the factory system, J. P. Culverwell, went so far as to speculate whether or not declining stature represented an 'improvement of the race', L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 72n.
85. *Northern Star*, 16 March 1839, p. 1.
86. A. Rushton, *My Life as a Farmers' Boy, Factory Lad, Teacher and Preacher*, Manchester, 1909, pp. 28, 31–2. Rushton's quotation is the inscription over the Gate of Hell in Dante's *Inferno*, Canto III (Modern Library Edition), New York, 1950, p. 22. See also *Union Pilot and Co-operative Intelligencer*, 28 April 1832, p. 155; *Poor Man's Advocate*,

21 January 1832, p. 1; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 21 December 1839, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 16 May 1840, p. 8.

87. *Poor Man's Advocate*, 26 May 1832, p. 145.
88. J. G. Williamson, 'Urban Disamenities, Dark Satanic Mills, and the British Standard of Living Debate', *Journal of Economic History*, vol. XLI, no. 1, March 1981, pp. 75–83; P. H. Lindert & J. G. Williamson, 'English Worker's Standards of Living during the Industrial Revolution: A New Look', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, vol. XXXVI, No. 1, February 1983, pp. 1–25; J. G. Williamson, *Coping with City Growth during the British Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge, 1990.
89. J. G. Williamson, 'Urban Disamenities, Dark Satanic Mills', op. cit., p. 76.
90. *Ms. Register of Christ Church Manchester*, Manchester Central Reference Library, p. 1. 'Disamenities' is characteristic of the type of language referred to by George Orwell as 'falling upon the facts like soft snow, blurring the outlines and covering up all the details'. See G. Orwell, 'Politics and the English Language' (1946), *Inside the Whale and Other Essays*, London, 1981, pp. 153–4. For Scholefield, see App. A.
91. J. G. Williamson, *Coping with City Growth*, op. cit., p. 232.
92. *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 3 April 1841, p. 5. See also *Poor Man's Guardian*, 15 February 1834, pp. 13–14.
93. S. Marcus, 'Reading the Illegible', in H. J. Dyos & M. Wolff (eds), op. cit., vol. 1, p. 266. See also E. P. Thompson, *The Making*, op. cit., p. 231.
94. D. Chadwick, 'On the Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford and the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire, 1839–59', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. 23, March 1860, pp. 1–36.
95. Ibid, pp. 1–2.
96. Ibid, p. 2; E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 259f.
97. J. Layhe, *Eighth Report of the Ministry to the Poor* (1842), pp. 23, 25–6, *Mf. Manchester Domestic Missionary Society*, op. cit. See also E. J. Hobsbawm, 'History and the Dark Satanic Mills', *Labouring Men*, London, 1979, pp. 107-8. David Chadwick was also aware of this problem, op. cit., p. 3.
98. Brit. Lib., Add. Mss. *Correspondence and Papers of the General Convention of the Industrious Classes Consisting of Returns and Lists of Delegates, Reports of the 'Missionaries' sent out to Preach Chartism, Reports of Committees and a Series of Returns Relating to the State of the Industrious Classes in Various Towns*, vol. 2, item 53, Richardson to Convention, 21 July 1839. See also *Bronterre's National Reformer*, 18 February 1837, pp. 52–3.
99. D. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 24; HO 20/10 *Confidential Report made by the Inspector of Prisons in the Cases of all Political Prisoners in Custody on the 1st of January 1841*, fol. 58 (Report on Barker); *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 9 March 1839, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 14 August 1841, p. 7; 'Unemployed Weaver's Address' in J. Adshead, op. cit., pp. 39–40.
100. D. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 26; HO 20/10 *Confidential Report*, op. cit. (Report on Livesey). For other examples, see *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 8 June 1839, p. 8; *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 10 April 1841, p. 13. In each case the rate of wages is lower than that given by Chadwick.
101. J. Adshead, op. cit., pp. 18–19.

102. D. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 35; W. Neild, 'Comparative Statement of Income and Expenditure of Certain Families in Manchester and Dukinfield in the Years 1836 and 1841', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. 4, 1841, p. 332.
103. G. Buckland, *Sixth Report of the Ministry to the Poor* (1840), p. 15, *Mf. Manchester Domestic Missionary Society*, op. cit. See also *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, 19 November 1840, p. 7.
104. *Poor Man's Advocate*, 3 November 1832, pp. 3–4.
105. J. P. Kay, op. cit., pp. 23–4.
106. L. Faucher, op. cit., pp. 144–6.
107. J. Layhe, *Eighth Report of the Ministry to the Poor* (1842), p. 31, *Mf Manchester Domestic Missionary Society*, op. cit.; D. Read, 'Chartism in Manchester', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, London, 1977, p. 53.
108. *British Statesman*, 1 May 1842, p. 6. See also S. Marcus, *Engels,* op. cit., p. 133.
109. W. Dodd, *The Factory System Illustrated in a Series of Letters to the Right Hon. Lord Ashley* (1842), London, 1967, p. 113; E. Chadwick, op. cit., p. 164; *Northern Star*, 31 December 1842, p. 6
110. J. Adshead, op. cit., p. 41; *Report of the Retiring Board of Guardians of the Manchester Union to their successors elected on the 25th Day of March 1841*, Manchester, 1841, pp. 3–4.
111. Sir C. Shaw, 'Police Statistics of the Week's End in Manchester', *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. 5, October 1842, p. 266. See also W. B. Neale, op. cit., p. 8.
112. F. Engels, op. cit., p. 157; *Northern Star*, 11 June 1842, p. 5. The latter figure is confirmed in another contemporary estimate; see *Number of Persons Taken into Custody by the Manchester Police and the Results in the Year 1841 with a Miscellaneous and Comparative Table*, Manchester, 1842, p. 32.
113. J. Adshead, op. cit., pp. 22–3.
114. Ibid., p. 21.
115. Ibid., pp. 22–4.
116. See, for example, H. Gaulter, *The Origin and Progress of the Malignant Cholera in Manchester considered Chiefly on their Bearing on the Contagiousness and the Secondary Causes of the Disease, To which are Added some Remarks on the Treatment*, London, 1842, pp. 1–2.
117. *Northern Star*, 9 April 1842, p. 7; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 26 March 1842, p. 3.
118. HO 40/54 fol. 861, Enclosure, Shaw to Phillips, December 1840. See also *Northern Star*, 12 December 1840, p. 2.
119. F. O'Connor (ed.), *The Trial of Feargus O'Connor Esq. and Fifty-eight Others at Lancaster on a Charge of Sedition, Conspiracy, Tumult and Riot* (1843), New York, 1970, pp. 279–80.
120. A. F. W. Coulson (ed.), *Manual of Cotton Spinning*, vol. 1, Manchester, 1954, pp. 11–12. See also W. Dodd, *Factory System* op. cit., p. 113; E. Baines, op. cit., p. 240.
121. [J. Leach], *Stubborn Facts from the Factories by a Manchester Operative*, London, 1844, pp. 30, 44.

122. *Manchester Times*, 12 June 1841, p. 3. See also *Union Pilot and Co-operative Intelligencer*, 21 April 1832, p. 145. See also *Salford Patriot*, 16 February 1833, p. 10.
123. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 2 November 1839, p. 4. See also *Northern Star*, 19 June 1841, p. 2.
124. *English Chartist Circular*, 20 February 1842, p. 29. See also *Manchester Times*, 1 February 1840, p. 1.
125. L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 57.
126. F. Engels, op. cit., pp. 58, 86, & 301–2. See also J. Easby, op. cit., p. 23.
127. F. Engels, op. cit., p. 164. See also S. Marcus, *Engels*, op. cit., pp. 94, 98–9.
128. F. O'Connor (ed), op. cit., pp. 117f & 282.
129. R. W. Procter, *Memorials of Manchester Streets*, Manchester, 1874, pp. 53–4. See also *Chartist Circular*, 28 August 1841, p. 423.
130. *Poor Man's Guardian*, 25 January 1834, p. 452; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 28 March 1840, p. 4; 9 November 1839, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 19 June 1841 [2nd Edition], p. 8; 12 November 1842, p. 8. For Jackson, see App. A
131. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 4 November 1837, p. 1; 9 December 1837, p. 3; 10 November 1838, p. 4; 11 January 1840, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 29 June 1839, p. 4; 12 September 1840, p. 3; 24 October 1840, p. 8; 20 November 1841, p. 5.
132. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 18 February 1837, p. 3; 18 March 1837, p. 3; 25 August 1838, p. 1.
133. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 21 April 1838, p. 3; 25 August 1838, p. 1; 17 November 1838, p. 3.
134. *Middleton Guardian*, 22 March 1890, p. 3.
135. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 25 August 1838, p. 3.
136. *Middleton Guardian*, 22 March 1890, p. 3.
137. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 20 July 1839, p. 1; 10 August 1839, p. 2; *Manchester Times*, 13 June 1840, p. 2; *New Moral World*, 17 August 1839, pp. 673–81; 30 May 1840, p. 1266. See also L. Faucher, op. cit., 25n.
138. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 13 June 1840, p. 4; *Manchester Times*, 12 March 1842, p. 3.
139. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 4 April 1840, p.1. The Owenites themselves had to rent the Hall from the Hall of Science Building Association. See *New Moral World*, 23 May 1840, p. 1244; 20 March 1841, p. 183.
140. *Northern Star*, 2 October 1841, p. 7.
141. E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 738.

2 'A WALL OF BROTHERHOOD' – THE REFORM COMMUNITY

1. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 9 June 1838, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 26 October 1839, p. 5; 20 June 1840, p. 2.
2. *Northern Star*, 20 June 1840, p. 2; 26 June 1841, p. 8; 4 September 1841, pp. 6–7; HO 40/50 fol. 889 Shaw to HO, December 1840. See also App. A.

3. One notable exception is Dorothy Thompson in her article 'Women in Nineteenth Century Radical Politics: A Lost Dimension', in J. Mitchell and A. Oakley (eds), *The Rights and Wrongs of Women*, London, 1976, pp. 112–38.
4. *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 17 April 1841, p. 19.
5. See M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, Cambridge, 1971; C. Calhoun, *The Question of Class Struggle: Social Foundations of Popular Radicalism during the Industrial Revolution,* Oxford, 1982, pp. 149–50, 174–6; E. Litwark & I. Szelenyi, 'Primary Group Structures and their Functions: Kin, Neighbours and Friends', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 34, 1969, pp. 465–81; C. Geertz, The *Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973, p. 365.
6. For Barlow, see *Middleton Guardian*, 1 March 1890, p. 7. For Benbow, see I. J. Prothero, 'William Benbow', *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. 6, London, 1982, pp. 29–36. See also H. Davies, *Lancashire Reformers 1816–17*, Manchester, 1926, p. 12.
7. For Moore see *Republican*, 15 February 1822, p. 212; 28 June 1822, p. 145; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 20 October 1838, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 9 March 1839, p. 6. For Murray, see App. A. See also D. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists*, London, 1975, p. 63.
8. P. Percival, *Failsworth Folk and Failsworth Memories: Reminiscences associated with Ben Brierley's Native Place*, Manchester, 1901, pp. 5–6, 27.
9. Phillip Knight was an 'overlooker' (at a power-loom factory) who lived in Islington, Manchester. By the Chartist years he was known as a 'veteran in the cause of democracy'. He was a foundation-member of the HMC in 1835 and was elected to the Council of the MPU in October 1838. Knight was a teetotaller and a strong supporter of O'Connor. He was nominated to the General Council of the NCA in July 1842. Henry Parry Bennett (1786–1851) was another Peterloo veteran and foundation member of the HMC. When he died in 1851 he was interred under the Hunt Monument. See P. A. Pickering, '"The Fustian Jackets": Aspects of the Chartist Movement in Manchester and Salford to 1842', La Trobe University PhD, 1992, pp. 67–8.
10. *Manchester Observer*, 26 February 1820, p. 934; 8 April 1820, p. 983; 9 September 1820, p. 1224. See also App. A.
11. See *Manchester Observer*, 26 August 1820, p. 1148; 25 November 1820, p. 1224; 9 December 1820, p. 1237; 16 December 1820, p. 1248. For Hadfield, see App. A.
12. John Brodie was a 'silk manufacturer' in Fountain Street, Manchester. He served in local government throughout the 1830s, and was active in opposition to the New Poor Law and Manchester's Charter of Incorporation. He was on the platform at the Kersal Moor demonstration in September 1838 and was elected to the Council of the MPU in October the same year. Brodie was also active in the Radical Electors' Association late in 1839. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 69. For Curran, see App. A.
13. *Gauntlet*, 7 April 1833, p. 129; 28 April 1833, p. 189. George Exley (1767–1848) was regarded as 'second to none in the ranks of freedom' in Manchester. A 'faithful friend' to Henry Hunt, Exley had been active in the

struggles of 1817–19 and was involved in the HMC during the 1830s. He was elected to the Council of the MPU in October 1838 and remained an active Chartist throughout the 1840s. When he died in 1848 he was buried under the Monument in Ancoats. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 69.

14. *Poor Man's Guardian*, 12 April 1834, pp. 77–8; *Manchester Times*, 19 December 1835, p. 3.
15. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 4 March 1837, p. 4; 15 April 1837, p. 4. For Dean and Willis, see App. A.
16. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 30 September 1837, p. 4; 7 October 1837, p. 1; 2 December 1837, p. 1; 6 January 1838, p. 3. For Richardson and Donovan, see App. A.
17. Henry Nuttall, a 'republican', was a veteran of the early 1830s and a foundation member of the HMC. Described as a 'zealous and active' Manchester radical, he was nominated to the General Council of the NCA in 1841 by the Tib Street branch. A teetotaller, Nuttall regularly represented the Tib Street Chartists at South Lancashire Delegate meetings and, in February 1842, he was elected Secretary of the Manchester Victim Fund committee. He remained active during the 1840s becoming a stalwart of the Manchester branch of the Chartist Land Company. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 71.
18. *Operative*, 3 March 1839, p. 1.
19. See B. Harrison, 'A Genealogy of Reform in Modern Britain', in C. Bolt & S. Drescher (eds), *Anti-slavery, Religion, and Reform: Essays in Memory of Roger Anstey*, Folkstone, 1980, p. 135; J. Schwarzkopf, *Women in the Chartist Movement*, London, 1991, pp. 123–47, 152–7; D. Gorham, 'Victorian Reform as a Family Business: the Hill Family', in A. J. Wohl (ed.), *The Victorian Family: Structure and Stresses*, London, 1978, pp. 119–47.
20. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 20 January 1838, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 26 December 1840, p. 5; 6 February 1841, p. 5; 5 February 1842, p. 5. For Littler, see App. A.
21. R. S. Neale, 'Working Class Women and Women's Culture', *Labour History*, no. 12, May 1967, p. 33. See S. Rowbotham, *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It*, London, 1974; I. McCalman, 'Females, Feminism and Free Love in an Early Nineteenth Century Radical Movement', *Labour History*, no. 38, May 1980, pp. 1–25; A. Tyrrell, 'Women's Mission and Pressure Group Politics in Britain 1825–60', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, vol. 63, no. 1, Autumn 1980, pp. 190–230; M. I. Thomis & J. Grimmett, *Women and Protest 1800–1850*, Canberra, 1982, pp. 88–137; D. Jones, 'Women and Chartism', *History*, vol. 68, no. 222, February 1983, pp. 1–21; B. Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, London, 1983, pp. 265–75; D. Thompson, 'Women' op. cit.; idem., *The Chartists*, London, 1984, chap. 7; J. Schwarzkopf, op. cit.
22. See B. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 266, 267–8; J. Schwarzkopf, op. cit., pp. 91f; D. Thompson, *The Chartists*, op. cit., pp. 121–2. Thompson suggests that the 'steam' went out of women's involvement when the agitation against the New Poor Law was absorbed into the wider radical movement.

23. *Northern Star*, 27 July 1839, p. 5.
24. *Northern Star*, 24 July 1841, p. 8.
25. See I. Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1750–1850*, London, 1969, pp. 196–7; J. Schwarzkopf, op. cit., chap. 1.
26. *Parliamentary Gazetteer of England and Wales*, 1840–4, vol. 3, p. 357. Pinchbeck, op. cit., p. 197n, quotes the following national figures which were presented to Parliament by Lord Ashley: 56.5% in the cotton industry; 69.5% in woollen mills; 70.5% in silk and flax spinning mills.
27. *Northern Star*, 3 April 1841, p. 8. See also *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 9 March 1839, p. 3; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 28 April 1839, p. 4. For Cartledge, see App. A.
28. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 10 November 1838, p. 3; 29 June 1839, p. 4; 26 December 1840, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 30 March 1839, p. 6; 29 June 1839, p. 4; 27 July 1839, p. 5; 22 August 1840, p. 7; 2 January 1841, p. 1; 15 May 1841, p. 2; 17 September 1842 [2nd Edition], p .8.
29. For examples, see *Manchester Times*, 26 December 1840, p. 3; 2 October 1841, p. 3; 12 March 1842, p. 3; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 16 February 1839, p. 3; 28 September 1839, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 30 March 1839, p. 6; 20 April 1839, p. 5; 22 August 1840, p. 7; 14 November 1840, p. 8; 12 December 1840, p. 1; 2 January 1841, p. 1; 10 July 1841, p. 1; 17 July 1841 [2nd Edition], p. 8; 25 September 1841, p. 2; 17 September 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 8.
30. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, 1980, p. 456.
31. *Northern Star*, 29 June 1839, p. 4; 27 July 1839, p. 5; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 29 June 1839, p. 4; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 10 March 1839, p. 5.
32. *Poor Man's Advocate*, 8 September 1832, pp. 3–4; 17 November 1832, p. 4; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 29 April 1837, p. 4. Exclusive dealing was among the 'ulterior measures' recommended by the General Convention of 1839.
33. *Manchester Times*, 27 July 1839, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 3 August 1839, p. 5. See also *Northern Star*, 29 June 1839, p. 7. For Tillman, see App. A.
34. *Northern Star*, 27 July 1839, p. 5; 29 June 1839, p. 4. See also *National Association Gazette*, 26 February 1842, p. 69; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 29 June 1839, p. 4.
35. *Northern Star*, 30 November 1839, p. 7. See also 25 June 1842, p. 5; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 9 December 1838, p. 2.
36. *Regenerator and Chartist Circular*, 3 November 1839, p. 19. Cartledge was aware of the potential domestic problems in a political family; it was 'the duty of the men [of Brown Street] of stopping at home on Tuesday evenings, in order to give their wives and sweethearts the privilege of attending the female meeting on that evening'. *Northern Star*, 3 April 1841, p. 8.
37. R. J. Richardson, *The Rights of Women: Exhibiting her Natural, Civil, and Political Claims to a Share in the Legislative and Executive Power of the State*, Edinburgh, 1840, p. 21. William Lovett later claimed that the original draft of the Charter included the vote for women – that it was dropped is indicative of the view of the overwhelming majority of radicals. See

W. Lovett, *Life and Struggles of William Lovett in His Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge and Freedom* (1876), London, 1967, p. 141n.

38. *Northern Star*, 24 July 1841, p. 8; 27 July 1839, p. 5. See also 17 July 1841 [2nd Edition], p. 8.
39. R. J. Richardson, op. cit., p. 21, 23. According to Jones 'the idea of the head of the household being given the suffrage was an old one', 'Women' op. cit., p. 2.
40. *New Moral World*, 15 May 1841, p. 312.
41. *Northern Star*, 6 February 1841, p. 5.
42. *Manchester Observer*, 26 February 1820, p. 934.
43. *Northern Star*, 15 May 1841, p. 2.
44. *Northern Star*, 29 August 1840, p. 1; 3 October 1840, p. 8. See Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists*, London, 1975, p. 24; A. R. Schoyen, The *Chartist Challenge: A Portrait of George Julian Harney*, London, 1958, p. 209.
45. *Northern Star*, 5 December 1840, p. 2; 19 December 1840, p. 8.
46. *Northern Star*, 7 August 1841, p. 5; 18 September 1841, p. 5; 9 April 1842, p. 5. For local Feargus O'Connor namesakes see *inter alia*: 29 August 1840, p. 1; 3 October 1840, p. 8; 17 October 1840, p. 5; 24 October 1840, p. 5; 31 October 1840, p. 5; 7 November 1840, p. 8; 14 November 1840, p. 8; 21 November 1840, p. 8; 5 December 1840, p. 8; 26 December 1840, p. 5; 16 January 1841, p. 5; 6 February 1841, p. 5; 13 March 1841, p. 8; 27 March 1841, p. 5; 10 April 1841, p. 5; 1 May 1841, p. 8; 12 June 1841, p. 6; 2 October 1841, pp. 6–7; 23 October 1841, p. 5; 27 November 1841, p. 5; 5 February 1842, p. 5; 9 April 1842, p. 5; 10 September 1842, p. 5; 9 May 1846, p. 8.
47. H. Hunt *[Letters] To the Radical Reformers, Male and Female, of England, Ireland, and Scotland*, August 1821, pp. 20–1, 30; I. McCalman, 'Popular Radicalism and Freethought in Early Nineteenth Century England', Unpublished MA thesis, Australian National University, 1975, p. 80; *Ms. Register of Christ Church, Manchester*, Manchester Central Reference Library, pp. 5–95.
48. A. B. Reach, *Manchester and Textile Districts in 1849*, ed. C. Aspin, Helmshore, 1972, p. 107. See also Northern Star, 9 February 1850, p. 3; D. Thompson, 'Women in Radical Politics', op. cit., p. 122. A prominent Chartist, Henry Vincent, wrote to his brother–in–law: 'when I leave Bath I shall leave at least *three Henry Vincents behind me!* Now, don't *laugh!* I don't mean to say, to use a holy phrase, *bone of my bone flesh of my flesh*, but namesakes by the aid of a little *holy* water and a few mystical words pronounced by one of God Almighty's Lambs, *the parsons!*' Vincent to Minikin, 2 October 1838, *Ms. Vincent Papers*, vin 1/11/12 (xerox copies in the possession of Alex Tyrrell, La Trobe University).
49. *Northern Star*, 24 October 1840, p. 5; 7 November 1840, p. 8. See also *Manchester Times*, 7 July 1838, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 20 June 1840, p. 2; *Isis*, 28 July 1832, p. 377. For Griffin, see App. A.
50. *Northern Star*, 25 April 1840, p. 7. See also *Northern Star*, 9 February 1839, p. 5.

51. *Northern Star*, 19 December 1840, p. 2. See also *Poor Man's Guardian*, 21 January 1832, p. 254; 26 May 1832, p. 402; *National Association Gazette*, 26 February 1842, p. 71; *Northern Star*, 12 March 1842, p. 2.
52. F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), London, 1977, p. 264; O'Connor cited in E. Yeo, 'Robert Owen and Radical Culture', S. Pollard & J. Salt (eds), *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor*, London, 1971, p. 113n.
53. Given his father's notoriety it is surprising that more information on T.P. Carlile's career has not come to light. He was born in 1819 and spent a considerable part of his infancy in prison with his mother, Jane Carlile. He first came to Manchester in 1836 on a speaking tour with his father calling himself an 'assistant Missionary'. Remaining in Manchester he established himself as a bookseller and publisher. In addition to his father's tracts and the *Regenerator*, he also dabbled in pornography. He is not mentioned in any of the general histories of Chartism; nor is he noted in Kemnitz's survey of Chartist editors. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 85.
54. G. D. H. Cole, *The Life of William Cobbett*, London, 1925, p. 437. R. B. B. Cobbett (1814–75) was William Cobbett's fourth son. A solicitor, he had been articled to George Faithful, Radical MP for Brighton, before settling in Manchester during the 1830s. He was elected to the Council of the MPU in October 1838 and served as Secretary for a short time. He had been elected to the General Convention in September 1838, but did not take his seat. According to Axon, he 'attained a great reputation as a pleader early in his professional practice when he defended some of the Chartists and others'. He was attacked in mid–1839 by local Chartists for being a 'middle class' delegate who had failed to act, and this was followed by a broadside from O'Connor in the *Northern Star* for not attending the Convention. After this Cobbett took little further part in local working-class politics. See W. E. A. Axon, *The Annals of Manchester*, Manchester, 1886, p. 351; P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 85.
55. H. Hunt, *[Letters]*, op. cit., 25 August 1821, pp. 20–1; *Northern Star*, 13 May 1848, p. 7; *People's Paper*, 21 November 1852, p. 2; Manchester Central Reference Library, Biography Index.
56. B. Brierley, *Failsworth, My Native Village: with incidents of the Struggles of its Early Reformers*, Oldham, 1894, pp. 7, 15; idem., *Home Memories and Recollections of a Life*, Manchester, 1886, pp. 23–4; *Manchester Guardian*, 6 October 1888, Manchester Central Reference Library, Newspaper cuttings.
57. For examples see *inter alia: Manchester Times*, 25 May 1839, p. 3; 2 October 1841, p. 3; *Manchester Guardian*, 26 December 1840, p. 2.
58. The innovative nature of this action is worthy of emphasis to act as a corrective to W. H. Chaloner's claim that in the 1840s the ACLL was the 'first British political organisation to harness the enthusiasm of youth'. In September 1841 the Brown Street Chartist Youths commented on the moves by the League to establish a youth wing. See *Northern Star*, 18 September 1841, p. 6; W. H. Chaloner, 'The Agitation against the Corn Laws', J. T. Ward (ed.), *Popular Movements: c1830–50*, London, 1970, p. 145.

59. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 27 July 1839, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 11 September 1841, p. 5; 18 September 1841, p. 6; 15 January 1842, p. 1; 22 January 1842, p. 1; 2 April 1842, pp. 6–7; 6 August 1842, p. 2.
60. Gabriel Hargreaves was a shoemaker who lived in the same building as the Chartist rooms in Brown Street. Active since at least 1831, he was a 'collector' for several Chartist Victim funds, a member of the HMC, and nominated to the NCA General Council in December 1841. John came to prominence in the Youth organisation and was nominated to the General Council in August 1842; by 1846 he was Secretary of the Manchester Chartists. The elder Hargreaves also had two daughters involved in Chartism. See *People's Paper*, 2 April 1853, p. 2; 14 May 1853, p. 2; P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 87.
61. *Yorkshire Tribune*, October 1855, p. 79. For Robert, see J. M. Wheeler, *A Biographical Dictionary of Freethinkers of All Ages*, London, 1889, p. 90; J. McCabe (ed.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Rationalists*, London, 1920, col. 182; E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, Manchester, 1974, p. 309; idem, *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. 2, London, 1974, pp. 103–7. For James, see App. A. I am indebted to Dr Royle for additional information on James's career.
62. R. Cooper, 'An Autobiographical Sketch', *National Reformer*, 14 June 1868, pp. 373–4.
63. Ibid., p. 373; *Northern Star*, 2 April 1842, pp. 6–7.
64. R. Cooper, op. cit., p. 374.
65. *Manchester Times*, 10 August 1839, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 10 April 1841, p. 8; 4 December 1841, p. 3. For Campbell, see App. A.
66. See C. Calhoun, op. cit., p. 175.
67. *Northern Star*, 15 August 1840, p. 3. See also *Northern Star*, 31 July 1841, p. 2.
68. *Reports of State Trials*, New Series, vol. VII (1848–50), ed. J. MacDonell, London, 1970, col. 770; *Northern Star*, 6 August 1842, p. 2; 24 December 1842, p. 3; *Manchester Guardian*, 12 April 1848, p. 5.
69. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 February 1837, p. 4; 22 December 1838, p. 2; R. J. Richardson, *Political Almanac for 1841 and the Annual Black Book*, Manchester, 1840, p. 1. Meetings of this sort were a very typical radical–Chartist experience. See W. E. Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom* (1903), New York, 1968, pp. 164–5; B. Wilson, 'The Struggles of an Old Chartist' (1887), reprinted in D. Vincent (ed.), *Testaments of Radicalism*, London, 1977, p. 195; T. Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper* (1872), Leicester, 1971, p. 164; B. Harrison & P. Hollis (eds), *Robert Lowery: Radical and Chartist*, London, 1979, pp. 59–60, 72–4; *A Young Revolutionary in Nineteenth Century England: Selected Writings of Georg Weerth*, ed., P. & I. Kuczynski, Berlin, 1971, p. 78.
70. G. Buckland, *Sixth Report of the Ministry to the Poor* (1840), pp. 18–19, *Mf. Manchester Domestic Missionary Society 1833–1908*; L. Faucher, *Manchester in 1844: its Present Position and Future Prospects* (1844), London, 1969, p. 28; *Manchester Times*, 9 March 1839, p. 4.
71. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 February 1837, p. 4; 29 June 1839, p. 4; 9 November 1839, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 29 June 1839, p. 7.

72. *Northern Star*, 29 June 1839, p. 7; 5 September 1840, p. 1; 19 September 1840, p. 1; 26 September 1840, p. 2; 17 October 1840, p. 2.
73. *Northern Star* 25 July 1840, p. 1; *State Trials*, op. cit., col. 746.
74. *Northern Star*, 14 August 1841, p. 7; 13 July 1839, p. 4; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 29 June 1839, p. 4. See also *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, 13 August 1840, p. 3; *Manchester Courier*, 25 September 1841, p. 6; J. Adshead, *Distress in Manchester*, London, 1842, pp. 39–40.
75. See D. Thompson, *The Chartists*, op. cit., p. 61.
76. A. Prentice, *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester* (1851), London, 1970, p. 200; S. Bamford, *Passages in the Life of a Radical* (1839–41), London, 1984, pt 1, p. 40; R. Cooper, op. cit., pp. 373–4; P. Percival, op. cit., pp. 6–8, 27.
77. E. P. Thompson, *The Making*, op. cit., pp. 456–69, 707.
78. E. Litwark & I. Szelenyi, op. cit., p. 465.
79. L. Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (1938), London, 1953, pp. 143f, 148, 161, 164–5, 176.
80. A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, Harmondsworth, 1980, pp. 24, 110.
81. R. Parkinson, *On the Present Condition of the Labouring Poor in Manchester: with Hints for Improving it*, Manchester, 1841, p. 10. See also M. Anderson, op. cit., pp. 61, 161.
82. R. Vaughan, *The Age of Great Cities: Or Modern Society Viewed in its Relation to Intelligence, Morals and Religion* (1843), Shannon, 1971, p. 152; L. Faucher, op. cit., pp. 121–2. See also L. S. Marshall, 'The Emergence of the First Industrial City: Manchester 1780–1850' in C.F. Ware (ed.), *The Cultural Approach to History*, New York, 1940, p. 158.
83. E. Gaskell, *Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life* (1848), Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 45.
84. J. Adshead, op. cit., p. 35; R. Parkinson, op. cit., p. 9. See also W. Cooke–Taylor, *A Tour of the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire* (1842), London, 1968, p. 86; B. Love, *The Handbook of Manchester*, Manchester, 1842, p. 109; W. Dodd, *A Narrative of the Experiences and Sufferings of W[illiam] D[odd], A Factory Cripple, Written by Himself* (1841), London, 1967, p. 285; G. Buckland, *Fifth Report of the Ministry to the Poor* (1839), p. 36; idem, *Sixth Report of the Ministry to the Poor* (1840), p. 11; J. Layhe, *Tenth Report of the Ministry to the Poor* (1844), p. 22, *Mf. Manchester Domestic Missionary Society Minutes*, op. cit.; H. Gaulter, *The Origin and Progress of the Malignant Cholera in Manchester considered Chiefly on their Bearing on the Contagiousness and the Secondary Causes of the Disease, to which are added Some Remarks on the Treatment*, London, 1842, pp. 63–4 and passim.
85. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 28 March 1840, p. 4. See also 2 November 1939, p. 4.
86. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 28 March 1840, p. 4; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 5 April 1840, p. 5; *British Statesman*, 22 October 1842, p. 9; *Northern Star*, 12 November 1842, p. 5.
87. See HO 40/43 fol. 333, December 1839; 40/54 fol. 861, December 1840; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 2 December 1837, p. 3; 23 June 1838, p. 2; 5 January 1839, p. 4; 29 June 1839, p. 4; 28 September 1839, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 2 June 1838, p. 5; 27 July 1839, p. 5; 21 December 1839,

p. 7; 23 May 1840, p. 5; 13 June 1840, p. 6; 8 August 1840, p. 5; 10 September 1842, p. 2.

88. *Northern Star*, 5 September 1840, p. 1; 14 November 1840, p. 8; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 14 September 1839, p. 3; HO 20/10 *Confidential Reports, made by the Inspector of Prisons, in the Cases of all Political Offenders in Custody on the 1st January 1841*, fol. 44 (Report on Jackson).
89. *Northern Star*, 18 January 1840, pp. 7–8. See also *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 16 February 1839, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 25 January 1840, p. 7; *Regenerator and Chartist Circular*, 4 January 1840, pp. 7–8. Again this pattern was long-standing; a decade earlier a subscription list noted collections from Heywood's including 'A few friends, plasterers and stonemasons', the 'Union of Dressers' and 'A few friends at the White Horse, Hanging Ditch'. See *Poor Man's Advocate*, 8 September 1832, p. 2.
90. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 7 December 1839, p. 4. McDouall argued that the 'wall of brotherhood', where 'every man will know his neighbour', will make proceedings 'as private as if only one man *thought at* his fireside', *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 17 April 1841, p. 19. See also C. Calhoun, op. cit., p. 180.
91. *Northern Star*, 16 May 1840, p. 5.
92. HO 52/42 fol. 150, Maude to Fox Maule, February 1839; HO 40/54 fol. 689, T. B. Templeton [a reporter with the *Manchester Times*] to Fox Maule, 5 May 1840; HO 52/37 fol. 2, J. E. Taylor [editor of the *Manchester Guardian*] to C. P. Thompson, 20 January 1838.
93. This aspect of the institutional development of local radicalism has not been emphasised by either Read or the Frows. See D. Read, 'Chartism in Manchester', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, London, 1977, pp. 43–8, 50–3; E. & R. Frow, *Chartism in Manchester 1838–58*, Manchester, 1980, pp. 8–12.
94. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 21 April 1838, p. 3; 20 October 1838, p. 3. According to Prentice the MPU was originally formed in November 1830. This body was dominated by shopkeepers and small traders, but it included some working men and later Chartists such as Elijah Dixon and Peter Gendall. A rival body, the Manchester Operative Political Union, was established in Tib Street in March 1831 and was chaired by Edward Curran, also later a prominent Chartist. An attempt to found a Political Union that embraced working men, small traders and middle-class activists in May 1832 failed. See A. Prentice, op. cit., p. 368; A. E. Watkin (ed.), *Absalom Watkin: Extracts from His Journal 1814–1856*, London, 1920, pp. 161, 162–3; *Voice of the People*, 5 March 1831, p. 77; *A Penny Paper for the People*, 7 May 1831, pp. 5–6; A. Briggs, 'The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. X, no. 3, 1952, pp. 307–8; J. M. Main, 'Working Class Politics in Manchester from Peterloo to the Reform Bill 1819–32', *Historical Studies*, vol. 6, no. 5, May 1955, pp. 454–5.
95. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 August 1838, p. 1; 29 September 1838, p. 3; 10 November 1838, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 30 March 1839, pp. 3, 6; 27 April 1839, p. 5; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 18 November 1838, p. 3; 6 January 1839, pp. 3–4.

96. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 1 December 1838, p. 4; 16 February 1839, p. 3; 9 March 1839, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 8 December 1838, p. 5; 30 March 1839, pp. 6, 8; 29 June 1839, p. 4; 13 July 1839, p. 4; 28 December 1839, p. 1; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 2 December 1838, p. 2; 22 June 1839, p. 8. The MPU Rule Book (Brit. Lib. 1389.640 [5]) was unavailable at the time of research.
97. *Manchester Times*, 19 December 1835, p. 3; *Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette*, 2 July 1836, p. 4; 9 July 1836, p. 3; *Bronterre's National Reformer*, 18 February 1837, pp. 52–3; *Northern Star*, 6 January 1838, p. 5; 23 February 1839, p. 3; 16 May 1840, p. 8; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 19 May 1838, p. 3. The Manchester RA had been formed in December 1835 and embraced the name Universal Suffrage Club in July 1836. A body established in 1842, calling itself the Manchester Universal Suffrage Association with rooms in Brown Street, was not connected with the Whittle Street Chartists. This organisation was part of the challenge, such as it was, spearheaded by the supporters of the Manchester NCSU. In 1848 the name was again used, this time for a short–lived organisation inspired by Joseph Hume's 'Little Charter'. See *Manchester Times*, 26 March 1842, p. 1; *Manchester Guardian*, 13 May 1848, p. 9.
98. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 16 February 1839, p. 3; 9 March 1839, p. 3; 30 March 1839, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 23 February 1839, p. 5; 6 April 1839, p. 8; 22 February 1840, p. 1.
99. *Northern Star*, 30 March 1839, p. 6; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 1 December 1838, p. 4; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 9 December 1838, p. 2. How long the WMA had been formed is not clear. There is no evidence that it was associated with the more famous London body of the same name. The Manchester group linked to the London WMA was the RA in Whittle Street. See G. Howell, *A History of the Working Men's Association from 1836 to 1850* (1900), Newcastle, 1970, pp. 83–5.
100. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 27 January 1838, p. 1; 9 February 1839, p. 3; 23 February 1839, p. 3; 30 March 1839, p. 2; 21 September 1839, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 13 April 1839, p. 5; 4 May 1839, p. 5; 29 June 1839, p. 7; 16 May 1840, p. 5; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 5 March 1839, p. 8. The Salford Political Union had been in existence during the early 1830s. See *Poor Man's Advocate*, 3 November 1832, pp. 4–5; *Poor Man's Guardian*, 9 February 1833, p. 48.
101. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 20 October 1838, p. 3.
102. HO 40/43 fol. 835, Neale to Shaw, 17 November 1839.
103. HO 45/46 fol. 11, Hereford to Normanby, 16 March 1841; *Northern Star*, 27 July 1839, p. 3; 14 August 1841, p. 7; 28 August 1841, p. 8; *Ms. Volume of Cuttings and Other Material Relating to Reginald John Richardson*, Manchester Central Reference Library, p.185.
104. *Bronterre's National Reformer*, 18 February 1837, pp. 52–3.
105. Arthur O'Neill came to prominence in late 1841 when he was nominated to the NCA General Council as Secretary of the Tib Street branch. A critic of the editorial policy of the *Northern Star*, in 1842 he set up as a Chartist bookseller in Oldham Road, Newton; he was also Secretary of a small circle of supporters of Bronterre O'Brien known as the 'Friends of the British Statesman'. He was in no way connected with the Scottish-born

Birmingham Christian Chartist of the same name. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 105.

106. *British Statesman*, 26 November 1842, p. 4; *Poor Man's Guardian and Repealer's Friend*, 3 June 1843, p. 14. In June 1843 they formed a breakaway group known as the Democratic Chartist Association, but this did not last.
107. *Northern Star*, 22 February 1851, p. 1.
108. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 15 June 1839, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 29 June 1839, p. 7; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 23 June 1839, p. 8. The Salford Chartists remained defiant of their Manchester counterparts. A meeting of their branch of the Land Company in 1848 questioned 'the right...or authority of the Manchester Branch...to call a delegate meeting of South Lancashire or Cheshire'. *Northern Star*, 8 July 1848, p.1.
109. *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 5 May 1839, p. 5; 16 June 1839, p. 4; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 May 1839, p. 4. At this time the Secretary, Jabez Barrowclough, boasted 1200 members able to bear arms; in another report at this time, however, a Salford delegate claimed to represent over 300 'of the poorest and best kind' of Chartist.
110. *Northern Star*, 31 July 1841, p. 2; *Poor Man's Advocate*, 11 August 1832, pp. 237–8; *Poor Man's Guardian*, 25 February 1832, p. 293; 13 April 1833, p. 119. See also L. S. Marshall, 'The First Parliamentary Election in Manchester', *American Historical Review*, April 1942, p. 536.
111. For examples, see *inter alia*: *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 29 June 1839, p. 4; 10 August 1839, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 14 March 1840, p. 7; 19 March 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 5.
112. Brit. Lib. Add. Mss. *Correspondence and Papers of the General Convention of the Industrious Classes Consisting of Returns and Lists of Delegates, Reports of the 'Missionaries' sent out to Preach Chartism, Reports of Committees and a Series of Returns Relating to the State of the Industrious Classes in Various Towns*, vol. 1, Richardson to Lovett, 17 April 1839, fol. 221.
113. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 29 June 1839, p. 4.
114. *People's Paper*, 22 May 1852, p. 5. See also 25 December 1852, p. 2. For Grocott, see App. A.
115. E. Yeo, 'Some Practices and Problems of Chartist Democracy' in J. Epstein & D. Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience*, London, 1982, p. 362. See also M. Howell, *The Chartist Movement*, Manchester, 1918, p. 198.
116. F. Engels, 'A Working Man's Party' (1881), reprinted in K. Marx & F. Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Moscow, 1978, p. 376; T. Rothstein, *From Chartism to Labourism* (1929), London, 1983, p. 68; J. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom*, London, 1982, p. 220f. See also R. Groves, *But We Shall Rise Again: A Narrative History of Chartism*, London, 1938, pp. 115–16; E.A. Haraszti, *Chartism*, Budapest, 1978, p. 166; E. & R. Frow, *Chartism in Manchester*, op. cit., p. 10. Epstein is careful to define 'party' in a loose sense.
117. *Northern Star*, 23 April 1842, p. 6; J. Epstein, *The Lion*, op. cit., pp. 230–1.
118. *Northern Star*, 9 July 1842, p. 6; 16 July 1842, p. 1; J. West, *A History of the Chartist Movement*, London, 1920, p. 166; J. Epstein, *The Lion*, op. cit., p. 229.

119. *Northern Star*, 27 July 1839, p. 4.
120. *Northern Star*, 12 September 1840, p. 3; 10 October 1840, p. 5; 24 October 1840, p. 8; 31 October 1840, pp. 2, 5; 15 May 1841, p. 1; 17 July 1841, p. 1; 31 July 1841, p. 8; 18 September 1841, p. 2; 6 November 1841, p. 1; 18 December 1841, p. 5; 24 December 1841, p. 8; 8 January 1842, p. 1; 23 April 1842, p. 6.
121. *Northern Star*, 5 September 1840, p. 2; 12 September 1840, p. 3; 20 November 1841, p. 5.
122. K. Judge, 'Early Chartist Organisation and the Convention of 1839', *International Review of Social History*, vol. XX, 1975, pp. 370–1; N. Stewart, *The Fight for the Charter*, London, 1937, p. 250; R. Sykes, 'Physical Force Chartism: The Cotton District and the Chartist Crisis of 1839', *International Review of Social History*, vol. XXX, 1985, pp. 227, 235.
123. *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 19 August 1838, p. 4; 30 September 1838, pp. 1–3; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 August 1838, p. 1; 29 September 1838, p. 4.
124. *Radical*, 3 September 1831, p. 10.

3 TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICS

1. M. Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, Manchester, 1918, p. 169.
2. N. Stewart, *The Fight for the Charter*, London, 1937, p. 178. See also R. Groves, *But We Shall Rise Again: A Narrative History of Chartism*, London, 1938, p. 151; F. C. Mather (ed.), *Chartism and Society*, London, 1980, pp. 32–3.
3. S. & B. Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism 1666-1920*, London, 1919, p. 174; H. Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unions*, Harmondsworth, 1976, p. 43. See also F. Williams, *Magnificent Journey: The Rise of the Trade Unions*, London, 1954, p. 88; W. H. Fraser, 'Trade Unions', J. T. Ward (ed.), *Popular Movements*, London, 1970, p. 109; A. E. Musson, *British Trade Unions 1800-1875*, London, 1972, p. 46; B. Hooberman, *British Trade Unions*, Harmondsworth, 1974, p. 4; H. Browne, *The Rise of British Trade Unions 1825–1915*, London, 1979, pp. 22–3.
4. I. J. Prothero, 'London Chartism and the Trades', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, vol. XXIV, no. 2, May 1971, pp. 202–19; R. Sykes, 'Early Chartism and Trade Unionism in South-East Lancashire', in J. Epstein & D. Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience*, London, 1982, pp. 152–93. See also A. Wilson, 'Chartism' in J. T. Ward, op. cit., pp. 126–7; J. Rule (ed.), *British Trade Unions 1750–1850*, London, 1988, p. 20.
5. *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 12 March 1837, p. 205; 19 March 1837, p. 211.
6. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 15 April 1837, p. 4. See also R. Sykes, op. cit., p. 158–9.
7. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 8 July 1837, p. 3.
8. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 7 October 1837, p. 1. See also 11 November 1837, p. 1.

9. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 20 January 1838, p. 4; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 27 January 1838, col. 1195–6; 28 April 1838, col. 1629.
10. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 7 October 1837, p. 4. See also R. Sykes, op. cit., Table 1, p. 160.
11. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 30 June 1838, p. 4; R. Sykes, op. cit., pp. 159–60.
12. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 30 June 1838, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 30 June 1838, p. 5.
13. HO 40/43 fol. 235; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 22 September 1838, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 22 September 1838, p. 6; 29 September 1838, pp. 6–7; *Manchester Guardian*, 26 September 1838, pp. 2–3.
14. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 15 June 1839, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 30 March 1839, p. 6; 20 April 1839, p. 5.
15. *Northern Star*, 19 September 1840, p. 1. See also N. Stewart, op. cit., p. 178; B. & S. Webb, op. cit., p. 175. In November 1840 Samuel Pemberton became President of the Manchester shoemakers branch of the NCA and during 1841–42 he represented them at South Lancashire delegate meetings. He was nominated to the NCA General Council in December 1841. In March 1842 he represented them at a crucial meeting of the Manchester Trades in the build-up to the general strike in August. During the strike he represented the shoemakers' union at the Trades Delegates Conference. John Joynson lived at the same address in Hardman Street, Deansgate. During 1841 he was Secretary (later Treasurer) of the shoemakers' NCA and he also represented them at South Lancashire delegate meetings. In April 1841 he was nominated to the NCA General Council. See P. A. Pickering, '"The Fustian Jackets" Aspects of the Chartist Movement in Manchester and Salford to 1842', La Trobe University PhD, 1992, pp. 120–1.
16. *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 24 March 1839, p. 2.
17. R. Sykes, op. cit., p. 164; *Northern Star*, 1 June 1839, p. 6. See also *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 1 June 1839, p. 4; *Manchester Guardian*, 29 May 1839, p. 3.
18. See R. Sykes, op. cit., p. 164.
19. Brit. Lib., Add. Mss. *Correspondence and Papers of the General Convention of the Industrious Classes consisting of Returns and List of Delegates, Reports of the 'Missionaries' sent out to Preach Chartism, Reports of Committees and Series of Returns Relating to the State of the Industrious Classes in Various Towns*, vol. 2, item 53, Richardson to Convention, 21 July 1839; R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement* (1854), New York, 1969, p. 148. Dean did, however, vote for the strike.
20. HO 40/43 fol. 465; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 10 August 1839, p. 2.
21. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 10 August 1839, p. 2.
22. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 17 August 1839, p. 3; R. Sykes, 'Physical-Force Chartism: The Cotton District and the Chartist Crisis of 1839', *International Review of Social History*, vol. 30, 1985, pp. 227–8.
23. M. Hovell, op. cit., p. 169; R. Sykes, 'Physical-force Chartism', op. cit., pp. 225–7; *Northern Star*, 27 July 1839, p. 4.

24. HO 40/54 fol. 553–7. See also 52/37 fol. 2; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 25 January 1840, p. 3; *Manchester Times*, 25 January 1840, p. 4.
25. *Northern Star*, 13 November 1841, p. 6. James Stansfield, a shoemaker or tailor, was described as a 'sincere and intelligent Chartist'. He had been a foundation member of the HMC in 1835 and was an active Owenite. He represented the tailors and shoemakers at important meetings of the Manchester trades in March 1842 in the lead-up to the general strike in August. Benjamin Stott (1813–50) was a bookbinder and an active unionist who also earned a reputation as a Chartist poet. He was a close friend of R. J. Richardson and a devoted member of the Odd Fellows. He represented the bookbinders at the Trades Delegates Conference during the general strike. John Bailey was a tailor, and later Chartist lecturer and shopkeeper, who was nominated to the NCA General Council in July 1842. He addressed public meetings during the strike and in September was elected Secretary of the National Chartist Defence Fund committee of management. Alexander Hutchinson was national Secretary of the United Smiths and he played a key role in the formation of the United Trades Association (of the five trades of mechanism) in 1840. He was an active Owenite and editor of the *Trades' Journal*. He supported the Charter at meetings of the Manchester trades in March 1842 and was nominated to the NCA General Council in June. He was Chairman of the Trades Delegates Conference during the general strike. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., pp. 124–5.
26. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 2 December 1837, p. 3; 9 December 1837, p. 2. For the Allinson brothers see *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 2 December 1837, p. 3; 20 January 1838, p. 4; N. & T. Reid, 'John Allinson', *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. 2, London, 1974, pp. 10–11.
27. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 2 December 1837, p. 3.
28. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 23 December 1837, p. 4.
29. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 6 January 1838, p. 3; 13 January 1838, p. 4; 20 January 1838, pp. 3–4.
30. *Northern Star*, 4 July 1840, p. 3.
31. *Northern Star*, 20 June 1840, p. 3; 4 July 1840, p. 3.
32. It was a clear example of what John Baxter has called an 'industrial-political interlocking directorate' – both the President and Secretary of the power-loom weavers, Daniel and Maurice Donovan, were NCA General Councillors nominated by the Carpenters' Hall branch. See J. L. Baxter, 'Early Chartism and Labour Class Struggle: South Yorkshire 1837–1840', in S. Pollard & C. Holmes (eds), *Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire*, Barnsley, 1976, p. 139; *Northern Star*, 17 December 1842, p. 6; 14 January 1843, p. 2; R. Sykes, 'Early Chartism and Trade Unionism', op. cit., p. 168.
33. R. Sykes, 'Early Chartism and Trade Unionism', op. cit., p. 171. See also G. Stedman Jones, 'The Language of Chartism', in D. Thompson & J. Epstein (eds), op. cit., p. 39.
34. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 15 April 1837, p. 4. See also *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 19 March 1837, pp. 211, 212; *Northern Star*, 11 October 1840, p. 6.

35. R. Sykes, 'Early Chartism and Trade Unionism', op. cit., p. 171.
36. *Northern Star*, 5 September 1840, p. 3
37. *Northern Star*, 17 October 1840, p. 6.
38. *Northern Star*, 19 December 1840, p. 1; *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 19 April 1841, pp. 18–19. See also *Northern Star*, 6 February 1841, p. 1; 13 August 1841, p. 1; R. Sykes, 'Early Chartism and Trades Unionism', op. cit., p. 171.
39. J. T. Ward, *Chartism*, London, 1973, p. 176.
40. *Northern Star*, 27 November 1841, p. 7.
41. *Northern Star*, 14 November 1840, p. 8; 20 March 1841, p. 5.
42. *Northern Star*, 22 August 1840, pp. 6–7; *Manchester Times*, 22 August 1840, pp. 2–3. At this time the power-loom weavers sought to revive the notion of a 'Consolidated Union of all the trades', but apparently little came of this initiative. See *Northern Star*, 8 August 1840, p. 8.
43. HO 40/54 fol. 861; *Manchester Times*, 26 December 1840, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 2 January 1841, p. 2. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that a broad appeal to the trades had failed to draw out much support. See 26 December 1840, p. 2.
44. *Northern Star*, 19 September 1840, p. 1; 14 November 1840, p. 8; 6 February 1841, p. 2; 20 March 1841, pp. 2, 4; 4 December 1841, p. 3. In December 1840 the shoemakers, dressers and dyers and power-loom weavers were listed among the subscribers to the Manchester Chartist Victim Committee. See *Northern Star*, 2 January 1841, p. 1.
45. *Northern Star*, 5 March 1842 [3rd Edition], p. 5; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 12 March 1842, p. 2; 19 March 1842, p. 2. See also M. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 63.
46. John Bell was a mechanic and active unionist who was a founding member of a Chartist committee among the mechanics in May 1842. He was nominated to the NCA General Council in July. John Connor was a fustian-cutter who was nominated to the NCA General Council in June 1842. He represented the fustian-cutters at the Trades Delegates Conference during the general strike of August 1842. He continued to be active after the strike. Isaac Higginbottom, an engraver, was a longstanding trade unionist and Owenite who had engraved the commemorative plate for the opening of the Manchester Hall of Science. He had been a member of the HMC during the 1830s and went on to be a strong supporter of Feargus O'Connor. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 132.
47. *Northern Star*, 19 March 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 5. See also M. Jenkins, op. cit., pp. 134f.
48. *Northern Star*, 19 March 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 5; 2 April 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 8; 28 May 1842, p. 1; 4 June 1842, p. 1; 18 June 1842, p. 7 [2nd Edition], p. 8; 25 June 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 8; 2 July 1842, pp. 1, 8 [2nd Edition], p. 8; 9 July 1842, pp. 1, 6; 16 July 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 8; 23 July 1842, p. 2; *British Statesman*, 2 July 1842, p. 2; 9 July 1842, p. 10; 23 July 1842, p. 10; 30 July 1842, p. 9.
49. D. Read, 'Chartism in Manchester', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, London, 1959, p. 54; Graham cited in F. C. Mather, 'The General Strike of 1842', in J. Stevenson & R. Quinault (eds), *Popular Protest and Public*

Order, London, 1974, p. 120. See also P. M McDouall, *Letters to the Manchester Chartists*, Manchester, 1842, p. 4; W. Cooke Taylor, *Notes on a Tour of the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire* (1842), London, 1968, pp. 315–16; *North of England Magazine*, September 1842, pp. 499–500; F. Peel, *The Risings of the Luddites, Chartists and Plug Drawers* (1880), London, 1968, pp. 338–9; A. Jenkin, 'Chartism and the Trade Unions' in L. M. Munby (ed.), *The Luddites and Other Essays*, London, 1971, p. 84; G. Rudé, *The Crowd in History 1730–1848*, New York, 1964, p. 187; A. G. Rose, 'The Plug Plot Riots of 1842 in Lancashire and Cheshire', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, no. 167, 1957, pp. 75–112.

50. M. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 111 & passim. See also R. Sykes, 'Early Chartism and Trade Unionism', op. cit., pp. 174–5; B. R. Brown, 'Industrial Capitalism, Conflict and Working Class Contention in Lancashire, 1842', in L. A. & C. Tilly (eds), *Class Conflict and Collective Action*, Beverley Hills, 1981, pp. 111–43.
51. *Manchester Times*, 20 August 1842, pp. 2–3; 27 August 1842, p. 3; *Manchester Courier*, 15 August 1842, p. 5; 18 August 1842, p. 8; 20 August 1842, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 13 August 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 8; 20 August 1842, p. 3; *British Statesman*, 13 August 1842, pp. 10–12; 20 August 1842, pp. 2–3; 27 August 1842, pp. 2–3; G. Stedman Jones, op. cit., pp. 39–42.
52. *British Statesman*, 20 August 1842, p. 2; *Manchester Times*, 20 August 1842, p. 3; F. O'Connor (ed.), *The Trial of Feargus O'Connor and Fifty Eight Others on a Charge of Sedition, Conspiracy, Tumult and Riot* (1843), New York, 1970, p. 172.
53. M. Jenkins, op. cit., App. A.
54. Thomas Doyle was Treasurer of the painters' branch of the NCA and had represented them at South Lancashire Chartist delegate meetings. Charles Rourke had been nominated the NCA General Council in June 1842. John Roberts was elected to the Boilermakers NCA Committee in June 1842. William Robinson was nominated by the Manchester smiths to the NCA General Council in June 1842. He was probably the same individual who had been a foundation-member of the HMC in 1835 and an active member of the MPU. Other delegates included Thomas Read, a stonemason and veteran trade-unionist who served as a member of the original Trades Council Executive in 1837–9. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 136. For Whittaker and Bell, see App. A.
55. William Dixon was a leading Chartist and unionist in Bolton before moving to Manchester in April 1842 to take up duties as correspondent for the *Northern Star* and Chartist lecturer. He rose quickly in the Manchester ranks; in July 1842 he was nominated to the NCA General Council, and in October he became Secretary of the South Lancashire Chartist delegates and the General Defence Fund. Dixon was a teetotaller and he later ran a Temperance hotel in Great Ancoats Street. He remained an active trade-unionist, holding national office in the Miners' Association during the 1840s. His activities were curtailed by the onset of almost total blindness. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., pp. 136–7.

56. *British Statesman*, 13 August 1842, pp. 10–12; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 13 August 1842, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 13 August 1842, pp. 4–5.
57. Jeremiah Lane (1817–44) was an Irish-born power-loom weaver who was regarded in his adopted home of Manchester as a 'stirling democrat'. He first came to prominence in November 1841 when he was nominated by the Tib Street (later Redfern Street) branch to the NCA General Council. In March 1842 he participated in the crucial meeting of the trades in the lead-up to the strike and at this time he also began representing the Redfern Street Chartists at South Lancashire delegate meetings. In December 1842 Lane was elected to represent Manchester at the Complete Suffrage Conference in Birmingham. He remained an active 'local lecturer and committee man' until his death in June 1844. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 137.
58. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 13 August 1842, p. 3; *British Statesman*, 13 August 1842, pp. 10–12; *Northern Star*, 13 August 1842, pp. 4–5. See also F. C. Mather, op. cit., pp. 121–2.
59. See F. O'Connor (ed.), op. cit., passim.
60. F. O'Connor (ed.), op. cit., pp. v–vi, 399–413; P. M. McDouall, op. cit., p. 9. *Manchester Courier*, 20 August 1842, p. 8. See also D. Thompson, *The Chartists*, London, 1984, pp. 288–90.
61. *Manchester Times*, 17 September 1842, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 3 September 1842, p. 8.
62. R. Sykes, 'Early Chartism and Trade Unionism', op. cit., p. 173. This is a more helpful perspective than the emphasis placed on internal recriminations in a handful of unions after the event by some historians. See A. Jenkin, op. cit., p. 89.
63. *British Statesman*, 1 October 1842, p. 10. See also *Northern Star*, 12 November 1842, p. 2.
64. See E. J. Hobsbawm & J. Scott, 'Political Shoemakers', in E. J. Hobsbawm, *Worlds of Labour: Further Studies in the History of Labour*, London, 1974, pp. 103–30.
65. See *Poor Man's Advocate*, 6 October 1832, p. 4.
66. G. Stedman Jones, op. cit., p. 39.
67. *Northern Star*, 30 May 1846 [3rd Edition], p. 8. See also 1 June 1844, p. 8; 19 October 1844, p. 1; 14 December 1844, p. 7. For Rankin, see App. A.
68. *Manchester Guardian*, 12 April 1848, p. 5; 22 April 1848, p. 7.
69. For London see J. Belcham, 'Chartism and the Trades, 1848–50', *English Historical Review*, vol. XCVIII, no. 388, July 1983, pp. 558–87. Belcham does not discuss the Manchester developments.
70. *Manchester Guardian*, 22 April 1848, p. 7 (emphasis original). Secretary of the Council, John Teer, a dyer, was an important link-person. A Chartist who had been imprisoned in 1843 for his part in the Plug Plot strike, Teer went on to represent the Manchester trades at the grandiosely self-styled Labour Parliament held at the People's Institute in 1854. See *Manchester Times*, 20 August 1842, p. 3; 17 September 1842, p. 2; *People's Paper*, 11 March 1854, p. 4; E. & R. Frow & M. Espinasse, 'John Teer', *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. IV, London, 1977, pp. 175–6.

4 MUNICIPAL CHARTISM – LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN MANCHESTER AND SALFORD, 1837–42

1. *Northern Star*, 29 October 1842, p. 4. The story of 'municipal Chartism' in Leeds has been written by J. F. C. Harrison, 'Chartism in Leeds', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, London, 1959, pp. 86–93. See also P. Hollis (ed.), *Class and Conflict in Early Nineteenth Century England*, London, 1973, pp. 254–5. Hollis uses the title 'Municipal Chartism' to head the extract from the *Northern Star*.
2. In contrast to Harrison's essay on Leeds, Read devotes only a paragraph to municipal affairs. See D. Read, 'Chartism in Manchester', in A. Briggs (ed.), op. cit., p. 40.
3. HO 52/40 fol. 95, Shaw to Normanby, 27 November 1839. See also *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 7 September 1839 [Supplement], p. 1.
4. HO 45/41 fol. 25, Napier to HO, May 1841.
5. *Northern Star*, 13 April 1839, p. 5.
6. See W. H. Thomson, *History of Manchester to 1852*, Altrincham, 1966, pp. 340–1; E. W. Watkin, *Alderman Cobden of Manchester*, London, 1891, pp. 26–7. A Parliamentary by-election for Manchester in September 1839 was conducted twice in two days; once under the supervision of the Boroughreeve and once under the control of the Mayor. See *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 7 September 1839, p. 3; W. E. A. Axon, *The Annals of Manchester*, London, 1886, p. 207.
7. S. D. Simon, *A Century of City Government: Manchester 1838–1938*, London, 1939, p. 101; F. C. Mather, *Public Order in the Age of the Chartists*, Manchester, 1959, pp. 71–2; F. Vigier, *Change and Apathy: Liverpool and Manchester during the Industrial Revolution*, Massachusetts, 1970, p. 191.
8. See for example HO 52/42 fol. 59; *Northern Star*, 5 October 1839, p. 1; 23 July 1842, p. 5; *British Statesman*, 24 September 1842, p. 1; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 May 1839, p. 3; 13 July 1839, p. 5; 20 July 1839, p. 3; 27 July 1839, pp. 2–3; 10 August 1839, p. 3; 28 September 1839, p. 3; A. Redford, *History of Local Government in Manchester*, London, 1950, vol. 2, pp. 44–5.
9. HO 40/45 fols. 270–1, 273; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 February 1837, p. 3; *British Statesman*, 24 September 1842, p. 1; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, 1980, p. 89.
10. See J. Aston, *A Picture of Manchester* (1816), Manchester, 1969, pp. 25–31; J. Wheeler, *Manchester: Its Political, Social and Commercial History*, Manchester, 1842, p. 305–23; S. & B. Webb, *English Local Government*, London, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 69–103, vol. 4, pp. 256–73; A. Redford, op. cit., vols 1 & 2 passim.
11. See for example: *Manchester Guardian*, 26 October 1833, p. 3; *Manchester Times*, 11 July 1835, pp. 2–3; 28 October 1837, p. 4; D. Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England*, Leicester, 1976, p. 39.
12. See for example *Manchester Guardian*, 10 February 1838, p. 2; 27 October 1838, p. 2; *Manchester Times*, 10 August 1839, p. 2.

13. R. Cobden to W. Tait, 3 July 1838, cited in J. Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden*, London, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 123–4.
14. Cited in A. Redford, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 13. See also V. A. C. Gatrell, 'Incorporation and the Pursuit of Liberal Hegemony in Manchester 1790–1839', in D. Fraser (ed.), *Municipal Reform and the Industrial City*, Leicester, 1982, p. 47.
15. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 10 February 1838, p. 3. See also *Manchester Guardian*, 10 February 1838, p. 3.
16. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 10 February 1838, p. 3. See also 13 January 1838, p. 3; 3 February 1838, p. 1.
17. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 17 November 1838, p. 1. Figures produced in 1842 showed that the overall electorate of the Council (6700) was larger than that of the Commission (5104). See *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 3 December 1842, p. 2.
18. D. Fraser, *Urban Politics*, op. cit., p. 120. See also V. A. C. Gatrell, op. cit., p. 48.
19. E. W. Watkin, op. cit., p. 13; Anti-incorporation poster reprinted in A. Redford, op. cit., vol. 2, facing p. 16. See also S. D. Simon, op. cit., p. 74; N. C. Edsall, *Richard Cobden: Independent Radical*, London, 1986, p. 58.
20. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 10 February 1838, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 9 March 1839, p. 7. See also *Manchester Guardian*, 10 February 1838, p. 3; *Manchester Courier*, 10 February 1838, p. 3; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 3 February 1838, p. 1; 3 November 1838, p. 3; HO 52/42, fol. 58–9; 40/43, fols 270–1, 273; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 8 September 1839, p. 5.
21. *Northern Star*, 28 September 1839, p. 3.
22. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 13 January 1838, p. 3; *Manchester Times*, 20 January 1838, p. 3; A. Redford, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 320, 372.
23. A Government Commission of Inquiry reduced these figures to 8694 and 7984 respectively.
24. A. Redford, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 23–5.
25. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 15 September 1838, p. 3.
26. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 3 November 1838, p. 3; 17 November 1838, p. 1; 1 December 1838, p. 4; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 2 December 1838, p. 2; 9 December 1838, p. 2.
27. William Grimshaw Seed was a 'manufacturer' in Rumford Street who had been involved in the MPU during the Reform Bill crisis of 1831–32. During the late 1830s he had been a leading local figure in the opposition to the New Poor Law and was a vice-President of the MPU during 1838. Seed was on the platform at Kersal Moor in September 1838 and was re-elected to the MPU Council a month later. In the same month he was re-elected unopposed to the Police Commission of Chorlton-upon-Medlock on which he had served since 1835. After 1839 he took little further part in Chartism or municipal affairs. See P.A. Pickering, '"The Fustian Jackets": Aspects of the Chartist Movement in Manchester and Salford to 1842', La Trobe University PhD, 1992, p. 151.
28. James Redfern was a shopkeeper in Oldham Road who was elected to the Council of the MPU in October 1838; he was elected as a Police Commissioner in Number 1 District in the same month. In January 1839 he

was elected to a Chartist Defence Committee and he was appointed Treasurer of the District Radical Electors' Association in October of that year. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 152.

29. The unsuccessful candidates recorded the following votes: Seed 167; Wroe 185; Brodie 176; Willis 169 and Redfern 172. See *Manchester Times*, 5 December 1838, p. 2; 22 December 1838, p. 3.
30. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 22 December 1838, p. 2.
31. Ibid.
32. *Manchester Times*, 27 October 1838, p. 2.
33. Thomas Barrow was a linen-draper in Deansgate who represented Number 13 District on the Police Commission between 1833 and 1836. He was elected auditor of the MPU in October 1838 and he continued to be an active member of the MPU Council during 1839. At this time Barrow's premises in Deansgate served as an agency for the sale of shares in the London Road Chartist co-operative. During 1839–40 he was very active in the Chartist Defence Fund. Although Barrow described himself as a 'milk and water radical', he was highly regarded by the Chartists as a 'liberal protector of the people's friends' due to the fact that he contributed £33. 6s. 9d. out of his own pocket for bail and fines of imprisoned Chartists during 1839. In 1848 when he 'had to contend with innumerable disasters which...reduced him to a deplorable state of adversity', the Chartists conducted a subscription to repay this service. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 153.
34. James Hampson is included in the table because he joined the NCA in 1842, but for most of the period he could not be regarded as a Chartist. A wholesale provision dealer in Great Ancoats Street, Hampson had been involved in the MPU in 1830 and was first elected to the Police Commission in 1831 (re-elected 1834). In 1837 he did not re-contest his seat, but at the election he seconded the radical list proposed by James Scholefield. After this, however, his former allies became his vehement opponents. As a strong supporter of Incorporation he was re-nominated for the Police Commission in October 1838 against the Tory-radical list, but was defeated. A month later he turned the tables, defeating the Chartist candidates at the inaugural Council election for New Cross Ward (re-elected 1840). Hampson was again unsuccessful in regaining his seat on the Police Commission at the 1839 election (against Scholefield), but was re-elected in 1840. In October 1838 he was a founding member of the provisional committee of the Manchester Anti-Corn Law Association; in July 1842 he became a member of the Executive of the Manchester NCSU. Later in the same month he joined the Carpenters' Hall branch of the NCA. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., pp. 153–4.
35. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 7 September 1839, p. 3 [Supplement], p. 1; 14 September 1839, p. 1, 4; *Northern Star*, 7 September 1839, p. 8; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 29 September 1839, p. 5.
36. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 21 September 1839, p. 2; 28 September 1839, p. 2.
37. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 5 October 1839, p. 2.
38. *Manchester Times*, 26 October 1839, p. 2; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 5 October 1839, p. 3. As one-third of the Commission was

elected annually, this tactic progressively eroded the Tory majority. By 1842 there were a large enough number of Police Commissioners who were prepared to cede many of their powers to the Council. See *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 26 November 1842, p. 1.

39. *Manchester Times*, 26 October 1839, p. 1. Heywood supported Incorporation from the outset. In 1843 he was the first Chartist to be elected to the Council.
40. *Manchester Times*, 26 October 1839, p. 2.
41. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 28 September 1839, p. 2. See also D. A. Macintyre, 'O'Connell and British Politics', in K. B. Nowlan & M. R. O'Connell (eds), *Daniel O'Connell: Portrait of a Radical*, Belfast, 1984, pp. 92–3.
42. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 19 December 1840, p. 3. See also *Northern Star*, 9 January 1841, p. 3; D. Fraser, *Urban Politics*, op. cit., p. 61.
43. *Northern Star*, 24 September 1842, p. 1. See also 1 June 1844, p. 1; 29 June 1844, p. 1; 27 July 1844, p. 1.
44. HO 52/42 fol. 111, Poster, December 1839.
45. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 5 October 1839, p. 2.
46. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 12 October 1839, p. 4.
47. See J. Wheeler, op. cit., pp. 323–4; R. L. Greenall, 'The Making of the Borough of Salford 1830–1850', in S. P. Bell (ed.), *Victorian Lancashire*, Newton Abbot, 1974, pp. 35–8.
48. R. L. Greenall, op. cit., p. 43.
49. See *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 23 February 1839, p. 3; 9 March 1839, p. 3; *Manchester Times*, 2 June 1838, p. 3; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 5 May 1839, p. 5; HO 40/54, fol. 595, Shaw to HO, January 1840; 43/60 fol. 400–1, 410, June 1841. See also *Manchester Times*, 13 August 1842, p. 2.
50. D. Fraser, *Urban Politics*, op. cit., p. 64.
51. Joseph Wainwright Hodgetts was a 'manufacturing chemist' who settled in Salford in 1831. He was elected to the Salford Police Commission in 1836. During 1837 Hodgetts came to prominence as an opponent of the New Poor Law and in the first half of 1838 was one of the anti-Poor Law radicals on the Salford Select Vestry. He first presided over a public gathering in June 1838; the following September he addressed the first Chartist rally on Kersal Moor. In October 1838 he was elected to the Council of the MPU and was appointed one of the vice-Presidents of the organisation. In October 1839 he was re-elected to the Salford Police Commission. In the same month he was the unsuccessful radical candidate for Salford Boroughreeve, and Salford Overseer in April 1840. As a 'friend to universal suffrage' Hodgetts was re-elected to the Police Commission in October 1842. In 1844 he stood (unsuccessfully) as a Chartist candidate at the inaugural election for the Salford Borough Council. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., pp. 159–60.
52. Anyon Duxbury, a 'provision dealer' in Chapel Street, Salford, was Treasurer of the Salford RA during 1839 and involved in local Defence funds in 1839–40. He was among the radical opponents of the New Poor Law elected to the Salford Select Vestry in March 1838, and was elected to the Salford Police Commission later the same year (re-elected 1841). See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 160.

53. Peter Gendall (1797–1881) was born in Manchester and became a joiner in Islington, Salford. He was involved in the MPU in 1830 and in 1834 was a trustee of the Bible Christian Building Society. In 1836 he was elected to the Salford Police Commission and in March 1838 he was elected to the Salford Select Vestry as an opponent of the New Poor Law. Gendall was President of the Salford RA during 1838–39; he was elected to the Council of the MPU in October 1838. In May 1839 he resigned as President of the RA 'in consequence of a severe indisposition', but by October he was able to successfully seek re-election to the Police Commission (re-elected 1842). He was less successful a few days later when he failed in an attempt to be elected as a Salford Constable and, in April 1840, he failed in a bid for election to the office of Salford Overseer. In 1844 he contested (unsuccessfully) the inaugural election for the Salford Borough Council as a Chartist candidate. Gendall was subsequently elected to Council and served continuously until his death in 1881. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 160.
54. *Manchester Times*, 31 March 1838, p. 3; 23 July 1838, p. 2. The *Manchester Guardian* also railed against the 'comic gambols' of the Salford Select. See D. Fraser, *Urban Politics*, op. cit., pp. 63–7. See also *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 21 April 1838, p. 3; 5 May 1838, p. 3; 12 May 1838, p. 3; 23 June 1838, pp. 2, 4; 7 July 1838, p. 3.
55. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 30 March 1839, p. 2.
56. Ibid. Having repeatedly criticised Salford's Whig-radical MP, Joseph Brotherton, and flirted with the notion of standing their own candidate, in 1841 the Chartists, 'at the eleventh hour', supported the incumbent on the grounds that 'he was one of the best Whigs, while Garnett was one of the worst Tories'. See *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 21 September 1839, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 4 May 1839, p. 3; 28 September 1839, p. 3; 29 May 1841, p. 2; 10 July 1841, p. 5.
57. *Northern Star*, May 1839, p. 5.
58. *Northern Star*, 28 September 1839, p. 3.
59. *Northern Star*, 26 October 1839, p. 5. See also 23 May 1840, p. 8; 29 May 1841, p. 2.
60. *Manchester Times*, 19 October 1839, p. 2; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 4 April 1840, p. 2.
61. *Manchester Times*, 16 October 1841, p. 2; *Manchester Guardian*, 16 October 1841, p. 3.
62. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 24 September 1842, p. 2; *Manchester Times*, 24 September 1842, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 29 October 1842, p. 4; 19 November 1842, p. 1.
63. *Northern Star*, 19 November 1842, p. 1.
64. John Miller was nominated to the NCA General Council as Secretary of the Salford Chartists in January 1842 and again a year later. In 1844 he was involved in the Salford Ratepayers' Association. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 163.
65. *Northern Star*, 29 October 1842, p. 4; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 22 October 1842, p. 2. Miller does not name the successful candidates in his report.
66. George Smith was a hairdresser in Hulme, and later Greengate, Salford, who was involved in the Salford RA during 1839–40. An active Owenite

and a supporter of Bronterre O'Brien, he was also a vocal advocate of 'getting possession of "local power"'. (He is not to be confused with George Henry Smith, the Hulme Chartist.) See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 164; *Poor Man's Guardian and Repealer's Friend*, 12 August 1843, pp. 93–4. At the time of his election to the Police Commission, Thomas Galley was a Corn Merchant in Bank Parade, Salford; in 1844 he contested the inaugural election for the Salford Borough Council as a Chartist candidate. See *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 29 October 1842, p. 3; *Manchester Times*, 13 July 1844, p. 5. In 1842 the results in Districts 6 and 7 (which saw the election of another Chartist candidate, John Buxton), were subsequently overturned because some voters had not paid their rates in full.

67. *Northern Star*, 29 October 1842, p. 4. William Sumner was a shoemaker who took over John Campbell's Salford newsagency after the latter's ascension to the post of NCA General Secretary. See *Northern Star*, 19 September 1840, p. 1; 7 August 1841, p. 2; 14 August 1841, p. 1.
68. *Northern Star*, 29 October 1842, p. 4.
69. *Ms. Volume of Cuttings and other Material Relating to Reginald John Richardson*, Manchester Central Reference Library, pp. 41–2.
70. *Manchester Times*, 5 November 1842, p. 3; 10 August 1844, p. 5.
71. See *Northern Star*, 25 June 1842, p. 5; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 18 June 1842, p. 3. Of the 16 Chartists identified as serving on the Police Commission in either Manchester, Salford or Chorlton, there were four booksellers, two provision dealers, a preacher, a hairdresser, a publican, a corn merchant, a joiner, a silk manufacturer, a 'manufacturer', a 'shopkeeper', a linen draper, and a 'manufacturing chemist'.
72. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, 1980, p. 902.

5 THE LEAGUE, CHEAP BREAD AND THE IRISH

1. The following account of the events of 2 June 1841 has been compiled from numerous reports: *Northern Star*, 5 June 1841 [2nd Edition], p. 8; *Anti-Bread Tax Circular*, 9 June 1841, p. 29; *Manchester Times*, 5 June 1841, p. 3; *Manchester Guardian*, 2 June 1841, p. 2; 5 June 1841, p. 3; *Leeds Times*, 12 June 1841, p. 6; HO 45/43 fol. 21, 32; E. W. Watkin, *Alderman Cobden of Manchester*, London, 1891, pp. 73–8; A. Prentice, *A History of the Anti-Corn-Law League*, London, 1853, vol. 1, pp. 213–18. I am currently working on a social history of the League with Alex Tyrrell.
2. D. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists*, London, 1975, p. 126; E. Royle, *Chartism*, London, 1980, pp. 36–7; D. Read, 'Chartism in Manchester', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, London, 1959, p. 37. The disturbance at Stevenson Square has also had a significant impact on the historiography of the League. See N. McCord, *The Anti-Corn-Law League 1838–1846*, London, 1958, pp. 99–102; W. H. Chaloner, 'The Agitation Against the Corn Laws', in J. T. Ward (ed.), *Popular Movements c1830–1850*, London, 1970, pp. 143–4; N. Longmate, *The Breadstealers: The Fight against the*

Corn Laws 1838–1846, London, 1984, pp. 86–8. Jones, McCord and Chaloner give an incorrect date for the rally as 8 June.

3. *Manchester Times*, 6 October 1838, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 27 March 1841, p. 8. In 1841 Cobden admitted to Samuel Smiles that the 'huge factories of the Cotton District, with three *thousand* hands under *one* capitalist give to our [Manchester] state of society the worst possible tone by placing an impassable gulf between master and operative'. Cobden to Smiles, 21 October 1841, reprinted in T. Mackay (ed.), *The Autobiography of Samuel Smiles LLD*, London, 1905, pp. 111–13.
4. F. O'Connor (ed.), *The Trial of Feargus O'Connor Esq and Fifty-eight Others on a Charge of Sedition, Conspiracy, Tumult and Riot* (1843), New York, 1970, p. vi; *Northern Star*, 30 March 1839, p. 6. J. P. Cobbett wrote in the *Champion*: 'In the first place the "League" is headed (and tailed too) by a squad of wiseacres calling themselves the Manchester Chamber of Commerce....This Assembly of notables is presided over by one J. B. Smith, a Whig Magistrate...the open, undisguised folly and dis-honesty of the whole was enough to have Mammon himself vomit at the sight of his own progeny.' *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 19 January 1840, p. 1. In 1843 Cobden admitted that 'most of us entered upon this struggle with the belief that we had some distinct class interest in the question'. Cited in J. Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden*, London, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 140–1.
5. A. Prentice, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 74; N. McCord, op. cit., pp. 162–3.
6. [Anon.], *A Letter to the Radicals and Chartists of Manchester and Lancashire on the Position of the Chartists and the Corn Law Repealers by a Corn Law Repealer and a Chartist*, Manchester, 1840, pp. 6–7. See also F. Peel, *The Risings of the Luddites, Chartists and Plug Drawers* (1880), New York, 1968, p. 322.
7. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 19 March 1842, p. 2. See also *Chartist and Republican Journal*, 26 June 1841, pp. 99–100.
8. N. C. Edsall, *Richard Cobden: Independent Radical*, London, 1986, passim; W. Hinde, *Richard Cobden: A Victorian Outsider*, New Haven, 1987, passim. See also E. W. Watkin, op. cit., p. 13.
9. See the radical poster reprinted in A. Redford, *History of Local Government in Manchester*, London, 1950, vol. 2, facing p. 16. See also *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 1 August 1840, p. 8; D. Thompson, *The Chartists*, London, 1984, p. 275.
10. See *Manchester Observer*, 28 November 1818, p. 384; 5 December 1818, p. 392; *Republican*, 3 November 1826, p. 513f; *Voice of the People*, 9 April 1831, p. 120; *Poor Man's Guardian*, 21 January 1832, p. 254; *Manchester Times*, 2 March 1839, p. 3; 9 March 1839, p. 3; 7 March 1840, p. 2; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 14 April 1838, p. 3; 12 March 1842, p. 2; *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, 29 October 1839, p. 5; 8 April 1841, p. 51; S. Bamford, *Walks in South Lancashire and on its Borders with Letters, Descriptions, Narratives and Observations Current and Incidental* (1844), Clifton, 1972, p. 236; E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, 1980, p. 348.
11. *Manchester Times*, 2 March 1839, p. 3; 12 December 1840, p. 2; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 3 March 1839, p. 5; *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, 7 January 1840, p. 3; 12 March 1840, p. 3; *Report of the Conference of Ministers of*

All Denominations held in Manchester, August 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th 1841, Manchester, 1841, pp. 113–115; Cobden to Watkin, 19 January 1842, reprinted in E. W. Waktin, op. cit., pp. 86–7.

12. See *inter alia*: *Northern Star*, 25 April 1840, p. 7; 16 May 1840, p. 8; 30 October 1840, p. 1; 27 March 1841, p. 8; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 July 1840, p. 3.
13. Cited in A. Prentice, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 87.
14. [J. Leach], *Stubborn Facts from the Factories by a Manchester Operative*, London, 1844, p. 79. David Jones's lofty description of Leach's arguments as a 'new radical version of economic history' is not applicable to the early period. See D. Jones, op. cit., p. 123.
15. *Anti-Corn-Law Circular*, 22 October 1840, pp. 6–7. In 1846 Leach was unable to convince the Manchester Chartists to oppose Peel's amendment to the Corn Laws. See *Northern Star*, 9 May 1846, p. 8.
16. J. Campbell, *An Examination of the Corn and Provision Laws*, Manchester, 1841, pp. 11, 15, 49, 70–1 & passim.
17. Ibid., p. 71.
18. See D. Thompson, *The Chartists*, op. cit., p. 275.
19. *Manchester Observer*, 23 January 1819, pp. 443–6; *Manchester Times*, 7 March 1840, p. 2. For Wroe's engraving, 'A View of St. Peter's Place', see *Peterloo 1819: A Portfolio of Contemporary Documents*, Manchester, 1975, plate 8.
20. See *Poor Man's Advocate*, 25 August 1832, pp. 253–4; *Manchester Times*, 21 December 1839, pp. 2–3. See also *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, 24 December 1839, p. 2; [J. Leach], op. cit., p. 24; E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. .837.
21. HO 52/42 fol. 111, Enclosure; *Northern Star*, 12 June 1841, p. 5. See also D. Read, op. cit., p. 36.
22. *Manchester Times*, 7 March 1840, p. 3. See also *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 1 February 1840, p. 4.
23. According to Edsall: 'Like most of his Manchester colleagues, [Cobden] favoured the New Poor Law' although he opposed it for tactical reasons in 1841–2. N. Edsall, op. cit., pp. 103–4. See also N. McCord, op. cit., pp. 36–7.
24. See E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, London, 1991, pp. 337f.
25. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 12 January 1839, p. 4. See also *Regenerator and Chartist Circular*, 3 November 1839, p. 18; *Manchester Times*, 7 March 1840, p. 2; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 5 December 1840, p. 2; G. Stedman Jones, 'The Language of Chartism' in D. Thompson & J. Epstein (eds), *The Chartist Experience*, London, 1982, pp. 14–15.
26. *A Letter to the Radicals*, op. cit., p. 7.
27. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 2 November 1839, p. 4.
28. *Northern Star*, 4 April 1840, p. 7.
29. A. Prentice, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 138.
30. See N. McCord, op. cit., pp. 97–8; W. H. Chaloner, op. cit., p. 143; N. Edsall, op. cit., pp. 80–1; N. Longmate, op. cit., p. 86; W. Hinde, op. cit., p. 66. Cobden's own account is in two letters to Smiles, 21 October 1841 and 6 November 1841, reprinted in *Autobiography of Samuel Smiles*, op. cit., pp. 111–13, 116–18.

31. HO 40/43 fol. 443, Enclosure: R. Carlile, *An Address to that Portion of the People of Great Britain and Ireland calling themselves Reformers on the Political Excitement of the Present Time*, Manchester, 1839, p. 16.
32. J. Belchem, 'English Working Class Radicalism and the Irish 1815–1850', *North West Labour History Bulletin*, No. 8, 1982–3, p. 7. For the debate, see R. O'Higgins, 'The Irish Influence in the Chartist Movement', *Past and Present*, No. 20, 1961, pp. 82–96; J. H. Treble, 'O'Connor, O'Connell and the Attitudes of Irish Immigrants towards Chartism in the North of England 1838–1848' in J. Butt & I. F. Clarke (eds), *Victorians and Social Protest: A Symposium*, Hamden, 1973, pp. 33–70; D. Thompson, 'Ireland and the Irish in English Working Class Radicalism before 1850', in D. Thompson & J. Epstein (eds), op. cit., pp. 120–51.
33. A. Redford, *Labour Migration in England 1800–1850*, Manchester, 1976, pp. 150–64 & Map E.
34. F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), London, 1979, p. 123; L. Faucher, *Manchester in 1844: its Present Condition and Future Prospects* (1844) [Translated with additional notes by J. P. Culverwell], London, 1969, p. 28n. See also *Seventh Report of the Ministry to the Poor* (1841), pp. 13–14, *Mf. Manchester Domestic Missionary Society 1833–1908*; J. Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846 and 1862*, London, 1862, p. 151.
35. E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 480; J. M. Werley, 'The Irish in Manchester 1832–49', *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 18, 1973, pp. 346–51. For a revisionist view, see G. Davis, 'Little Irelands', in R. Swift & S. Gilley (eds), *The Irish in Britain 1815–1939*, London, 1989, pp. 104–33.
36. *Anti-Bread Tax Circular*, 26 May 1841, p. 21; *New Moral World*, 19 June 1841, p. 387; L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 28. See also G. P. Connolly, 'Little Brother Be At Peace: The Priest as Holy Man in the Nineteenth Century Ghetto', in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *The Church and Healing*, Oxford, 1982, pp. 191–206.
37. L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 28. See also G. Buckland, *Sixth Report of the Ministry to the Poor* (1840), pp. 18–19, *Mf. Manchester Domestic Mission*, . op. cit.
38. See *Weekly Freeman's Journal* [Dublin], 16 January 1841, p. 4; 10 April 1841, p. 5; 5 June 1841, p. 7; 14 August 1841, p. 6; J. H. Treble, op. cit., p. 45.
39. See N. McCord, op. cit., p. 99; J. H. Treble, op. cit., p. 53. See also D. Thompson, 'Ireland', op. cit., p. 140.
40. John Joseph Finnigan (1803–?) had been involved with the OACLA since mid-1839. An immigrant weaver, Finnigan became a full-time lecturer in the service of the League during 1840, but at the same time he claimed to be a vehement opponent of the factory system, 'having himself suffered in those hell holes'. Although an opponent of O'Connor, Finnigan described himself as a firm advocate of the principles of the Charter and in 1848 he was part of the Irish Confederate–Chartist alliance. John Kelly, a printer and one of O'Connell's assistants, became Secretary of the OACLA during 1842. See P. A. Pickering, '"The Fustian Jackets"': Aspects of the Chartist Movement in Manchester and Salford to 1842', La Trobe University PhD, 1992, p. 184.

41. Watkin to Cobden, 27 September 1841, Cobden Papers. I am indebted to Professor Norman McCord who generously gave me access to his notes on the Watkin–Cobden letters in the Cobden papers.
42. HO 45/46 fol. 22, Shaw to HO, 5 June 1841; *Manchester Times*, 22 May 1841, p. 2; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 10 March 1838, p. 2; 24 November 1838, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 17 November 1838, p. 2; 22 December 1838, p. 8; 15 August 1840, p. 3; 8 May 1841, p. 1; 15 May 1841, p. 8; 29 May 1841, p. 3; *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 27 January 1838, col. 1195-6; 3 March 1838, col. 1629.
43. *Northern Star*, 15 August 1840, p. 3.
44. *Northern Star*, 29 May 1841, p. 3.
45. Ray cited in J. H. Treble, op. cit., p. 56. See also *Northern Star*, 22 July 1843, p. 5; R. O'Higgins, op. cit., p. 87; D. Thompson, op. cit., p. 123. The members of the Manchester branch of the Irish Union Repealers were, however, typically supporters of universal suffrage. According to Kelly they had signed the Chartist National Petition; James Daly claimed for the Liberator a special place in the history of Chartism: 'Why, who was it that gave them the Charter. Was not Mr O'Connell the author of the Charter?' See *Northern Star*, 29 May 1841, p. 3; 23 April 1842, p. 1; *Manchester Times*, 22 May 1841, p. 27. W. O. Aydelotte has shown that all 18 Irish Repealers in the House of Commons voted for the 1842 Chartist petition which included the demand for the Repeal of the Union. See 'Parties and Issues in Early Victorian England', in P. Stansky (ed.), *The Victorian Revolution*, New York, 1973, p. 111.
46. See *Northern Star*, 1 January 1848, p. 1; 13 May 1848, p. 1; D. Thompson, 'Seceding from the Seceders: The Decline of the Jacobin Tradition in Ireland, 1790–1850', *Outsiders*, London, 1993, pp. 134–63.
47. See I. McCalman, '"Erin go Bragh": the Irish in British Popular Radicalism c.1790–1840', in O. MacDonagh & W. F. Mandle (eds), *Irish-Australian Studies*, Canberra, 1989, p. 176; J. Belcham, 'English Working-Class Radicalism and the Irish, 1815–50', in R. Swift & S. Gilley (eds), *The Irish in the Victorian City*, London, 1985, pp. 87–9.
48. See *Salford Patriot*, 16 February 1833, p. 15; *Poor Man's Guardian*, 22 February 1834, pp. 22–3; 29 February 1834, p. 30; *Northern Star*, 18 May 1839, p. 5; 22 June 1839, p. 3; 15 August 1840, p. 3; 10 April 1841, p. 5; 19 June 1841, p. 8; 23 October 1841 [2nd Edition], p. 8; 29 January 1842, p. 1.
49. *Manchester Times*, 2 October 1841, p. 3. By contrast the London-based National Association did not support the 1842 National Petition 'on account of the question of Repeal of the Union being introduced into it'. See W. Lovett, *Life and Struggles of William Lovett in his Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge and Freedom* (1876), London, 1967, p. 219.
50. See D. Thompson, 'Ireland', op. cit., pp. 122–3.
51. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 29 June 1839, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 29 June 1839, p. 4.
52. *Northern Star*, 13 July 1839, p. 4.
53. See *Northern Star*, 13 July 1839, p. 4; 14 August 1841, p. 7; *Manchester Times*, 18 July 1840, p. 3; *Manchester Courier*, 25 September 1841, p. 6; *Anti-Corn-Law Circular*, 13 August 1840, p. 3; J. Adshead, *Distress in Manchester*, London, 1842, pp. 39–40; L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 159. During

June 1839 'Irish Catholic' Chartists held a separate meeting in Whittle Street to consider the question of 'Justice in Ireland'. Similar gatherings took place in later years. See *Northern Star*, 22 June 1839, p. 5; 15 August 1840, p. 3; 10 April 1841, p. 5.

54. *Northern Star*, 2 October 1841, pp. 6–7. See also HO 45/269, fol. 31; *Manchester Times*, 12 March 1842, p. 3; J. Denvir, *The Irish in Britain*, London, 1892, p. 112.
55. *Northern Star*, 8 May 1841, p. 8.
56. *Northern Star*, 11 December 1841, p. 5; 18 December 1841, p. 5; 24 December 1841, p. 8; 29 January 1841, p. 1.
57. Dorothy Thompson has questioned the homogeneity of the Irish immigrant communities, in particular those in smaller towns and villages. See 'Ireland', op. cit., p. 123.
58. *Northern Star*, 19 February 1848, p. 2; *Reports of State Trials*, New Series, vol. VII, 1848–50, J. MacDonell (ed.), (1896), London, 1970, cols. 729, 751–3; W.J. Lowe, 'The Chartists and the Irish Confederates: Lancashire, 1848', *Irish Historical Studies*, XXIV, no. 94, 1984, pp. 172–96 (Lowe, p. 175, is wrong to suggest that branches of the Irish Confederation did not emerge before St Patrick's Day). For the division in Irish nationalism see F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, London, 1990, pp. 104–12; G.R. Clarke, 'The Relations between O'Connell and the Young Irelanders', *Irish Historical Studies*, III, no. 9, 1942, pp. 18–30.
59. *Northern Star*, 29 April 1848, p. 4; *State Trials*, op. cit., col. 711; Lowe, op. cit., p. 184. See also G. J. Connolly, op. cit., p. 203; M. R. O'Connell, 'O'Connell, Young Ireland and Violence', *Daniel O'Connell: The Man and his Politics*, Dublin, 1989, pp. 61–88. Archdeacon co-edited the *English Patriot and Irish Repealer* with James Leach in 1848.
60. *Northern Star*, 25 March 1848, p. 1; 29 April 1848, p. 4; *Manchester Guardian*, 12 April 1848, p. 6; *State Trials*, op. cit., col. 756.
61. J. C. Belcham, '1848: Feargus O'Connor and the Collapse of the Mass Platform', in J. Epstein & D. Thompson op. cit., pp. 278–9; W. J. Lowe, op. cit., p. 172. Elsewhere Belcham points out that alliance with the Irish provided the pretext for government repression and frightened off potential moderate supporters. See 'English Working-Class Radicalism', op. cit., p. 93.
62. *Northern Star*, 25 March 1848, p. 1; *Manchester Guardian*, 18 March 1848, p. 7; 22 March 1848, p. 6.
63. E. W. Watkin, op. cit., p. 78; Cobden to Wilson, 16 October 1841, cited in N. McCord, op. cit., p.116. See also Cobden to Watkin, 11 May 1840, reprinted in E. W. Watkin, op. cit., pp. 69–70.
64. *Manchester Guardian*, 2 June 1841, p. 2; *Manchester Times*, 5 June 1841, p. 3; E. W. Watkin, op. cit., pp. 70-2.
65. *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, 30 April 1839, p. 3; *Manchester Times*, 27 April 1839, p. 1.
66. In keeping with his treatment of the organisation as a historian, the first two mentions of the OACLA in Prentice's *Manchester Times* were in paid advertisements. See *Manchester Times*, 27 April 1839, p. 1; 11 May 1839, p. 1.

67. *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, 14 May 1839, p. 1; 11 June 1839, p. 3; 23 July 1839, p. 4; 1 October 1839, p. 4; 15 October 1839, pp. 2, 7.
68. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 9 December 1837, p. 3; 27 January 1838, p. 1; 9 March 1839, p. 4; *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, 14 May 1839, p. 1; *Manchester Times*, 12 August 1837, p. 3.
69. See P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 191.
70. *Manchester Times*, 25 January 1840, p. 2.
71. *Manchester Times*, 12 June 1841, p. 4. James Lowe, a leading Manchester Owenite, regarded them as 'co-workers with us in the cause of social and political melioration'. See *New Moral World*, 17 July 1841, p. 23.
72. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 21 December 1839, p. 3; 15 February 1840, p. 5. See also *Manchester Times*, 1 February 1840, p. 3; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 1 February 1840, p. 4.
73. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 14 March 1840, p. 4.
74. *Northern Star*, 4 April 1840, p. 7.
75. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 April 1840, p. 2. See also *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 19 April 1840, p. 6.
76. *Northern Star*, 2 May 1840, p. 5; 9 May 1840, p. 8.
77. *Northern Star*, 20 June 1840, p. 8; 11 July 1840, p. 1; 15 April 1843, p. 5; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 July 1840, p. 3.
78. *Northern Star*, 27 March 1841, p. 1. See also *Anti-Corn-Law Circular*, 25 March 1841, pp. 41–2.
79. N. McCord, op. cit., p. 98; *Manchester Times*, 10 October 1840, p. 3. Even at this dinner one of the speakers 'dwelt upon the evils of class legislation, and urged the necessity of agitation for an extension of the suffrage...'.
80. *Manchester Times*, 16 April 1842, p. 3.
81. Watkin to Cobden, 21 April 1842, Cobden Papers. In the end Cobden lobbied individual members of the League Council to ensure that funds were made available to make good the debts. See Cobden to Watkin, 23 April 1842, reprinted in E. W. Watkin, op. cit., pp. 91–2.
82. Cobden to Watkin, 9 October 1841, reprinted in E. W. Watkin, op. cit., p. 79–81; *Northern Star*, 23 October 1841, p. 4; 30 October 1841, p. 5.
83. Cobden to Watkin, 19 January 1842, reprinted in E. W. Watkin, op. cit., pp. 86–7; *Manchester Times*, 16 October 1841, p. 3; 30 October 1841, p. 3; 6 November 1841, p. 3.
84. *Manchester Times*, 8 January 1842, p. 3; *Anti-Bread Tax Circular*, 13 January 1842, p. 93.
85. *Manchester Times*, 5 March 1842, p. 1; 19 March 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 5; M. Jenkins, *The General Strike of 1842*, London, 1980, pp. 134f.
86. See J. Morley, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 249. According to William Lovett, 'anti-corn-law eloquence has failed to wean one convert from the ranks of Chartism'. See *National Association Gazette*, 8 January 1842, p. 2. See also HO 45/269 fol. 33; *Northern Star*, 19 March 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 5.
87. HO 45/249c, fol. 16, February 1842; *Northern Star*, 19 February 1842, p. 3; *Manchester Times*, 19 February 1842, p. 3.
88. HO 45/249c fol. 16, Shaw to HO, February 1842.
89. Cobden to Watkin, 11 March 1842, reprinted in E. W. Watkin, op. cit., p. 89–90.

90. *Anti-Bread Tax Circular*, 10 March 1842, p. 109; E. W. Watkin, op. cit., p. 89n. The son of a banker, John Brooks was a wealthy calico-printer in Manchester. According to Axon he was 'one of the earliest and most zealous members' of the ACLL. He was Manchester Boroughreeve in 1839–40 and also served as an Alderman on the Borough Council. In July 1842 he became President of the Manchester branch of the NCSU. See W. E. A. Axon, *Annals of Manchester*, Manchester, 1886, pp. 251–2; P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 201.
91. Watkin to Cobden, 22 June 1842, Cobden Papers. See also *Manchester Times*, 18 June 1842, p. 3; *Anti-Bread Tax Circular*, 16 June 1842, p. 137.
92. *British Statesman*, 16 July 1842, p. 10. In an editorial, the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 19 March 1842, p. 2, stated: 'Thus all attempts, at present, to obtain the co-operation of the working classes in aid of a repeal of the corn laws, promise to prove ineffectual'.
93. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 2 July 1842, p. 1; *British Statesman*, 20 August 1842, p. 7.
94. See A. Tyrrell, *Joseph Sturge and the Moral Radical Party in Early Victorian Britain*, London, 1987, pp. 122–3; N. Edsall, op. cit., pp. 104–5. Watkin regarded it as 'COMPLETE HUMBUG'. Watkin to Cobden, 22 June 1842, Cobden Papers.
95. *Northern Star*, 16 July 1842, p. 6; A. Prentice, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 73.
96. See R. Halley (ed.), *A Short Biography of the Rev. Robert Halley DD, Late Principal of New College London*, London, 1879, pp. xxxiii–lii; P. A. Pickering, 'The Fustian Jackets', op. cit., p. 204. Variations in the spelling of the surname of this man (Dr Robert Halley and Dr Robert Hulley), particularly in newspaper reports, raise the possibility that there were in fact two men. It should be noted, however, that there are no references to any Hulleys in Axon's *Annals of Manchester*, the biography index at the Manchester Central Reference Library, or the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Furthermore, I have found no instance where a Hulley and a Halley were at the same meeting.
97. R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement* (1854), New York, 1969, p. 104.
98. S. Bamford op. cit., p. 236.
99. Cited in N. Longmate, op. cit., p. 89.

6 NEW MORAL WORLDS – CO-OPERATION, OWENISM AND RADICAL CHRISTIANITY

1. G. J. Holyoake, *The History of Co-Operation*, (1875) London, 1903; B. Potter [Webb], *The Co-Operative Movement in Great Britain*, London, 1891, pp. 50-1. See also A. E. Musson, 'The Ideology of Early Co-Operation in Lancashire and Cheshire', *Trade Union and Social History*, London, 1974.
2. J. West, *A History of the Chartist Movement*, London, 1920, p. 200.
3. Notable exceptions are Alexander Wilson, *The Chartist Movement in Scotland*, Manchester, 1970, pp. 126–32; R. C. N. Thornes, 'The Early

Development of the Co-operative Movement in West Yorkshire 1827–1863', University of Sussex PhD, 1984, p. 148f.

4. *1851 Census Great Britain Report and Tables on Religious Worship, England and Wales, Accounts and Papers* (33) vol. LXXXIX, 1852–3, Table K, p. ccxcvii. See also R. Currie, A. Gilbert, & L. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 216–18.
5. E. Royle, *Radical Politics 1790–1900: Religion and Unbelief*, London, 1971, p. 9.
6. Historians have traced the origins and development of the infidel and millenarian traditions into and through the Chartist years. See *inter alia*: E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels: The Origins of the British Secularist Movement 1791–1866*, Manchester, 1974; W. H. Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists: The Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790s to the 1840s*, Auckland, 1978; J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780–1850*, London, 1979; J. K. Hopkins, *A Woman to Deliver Her People: Joanna Southcott and English Millenarianism in an Era of Revolution*, Austin, 1982; I. McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London 1795–1840*, Cambridge, 1988.
7. J. F. C. Harrison, op. cit., p. xvi. E. P. Thompson has called this the 'chiliasm of despair'. See E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, 1980, p. 411.
8. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 9 November 1839, p. 3; 14 March 1840, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 19 October 1839, p. 5; 21 December 1839, p. 8; 22 February 1840, p. 1; 29 February 1840, p. 5; 21 March 1840, p. 2; 16 May 1840, p. 5; 30 May 1840, p. 4; 16 June 1840, p. 8; 29 August 1840, p. 1.
9. *United Trades Co-operative Journal*, 1 May 1830, pp. 68–9; *Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, 25 June 1831, p. 4; November 1832, pp. 5–6.
10. *Northern Star*, 19 October 1839, p. 5; 21 March 1840, p. 2; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 14 March, 1840, p. 3.
11. *Northern Star*, 20 June 1840, p. 5; 13 March 1841, p. 8; 20 March 1841, p. 1; 10 April 1841, p. 5; 29 January 1842, p. 5; 19 November 1842, p. 1.
12. *Northern Star*, 29 August 1840, p. 1; 10 October 1840, p. 5; 7 November 1840, p. 2.
13. *Northern Star*, 10 April 1841, p. 5; 12 November 1842, p. 5.
14. *Regenerator and Chartist Circular*, 4 January 1840, p. 4; *English Chartist Circular*, 29 August 1841, p. 1.
15. *Northern Star*, 1 February 1851, p. 3; 15 February 1851, p. 1; 8 March 1851, p. 1; R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement 1837–1854* (1854), New York, 1969, p. 357; R. C. N. Thornes, op. cit., pp. 234, 257f.
16. *Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, 23 July 1831, pp. 4–7; 10 December 1831, p. 4; April 1832, pp. 1–3.
17. J. F. C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America*, London, 1969, p. 198f; *New Moral World*, 23 May 1840, p. 1244; 11 July 1840, p. 32.
18. *New Moral World*, 17 June 1837, p. 277; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 18 May 1839, p. 3. See also *New Moral World*, 18 May 1839,

p. 474; 15 June 1839, p. 538; 10 October 1839, p. 396; G. Claeys, *Citizens and Saints: Politics and anti-Politics in Early British Socialism*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 208–12.

19. *Social Pioneer*, 16 March 1839, p. 12; *New Moral World*, 23 May 1840, p. 1244. See also W. Cooke-Taylor, *Notes of a Tour of the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire* (1842), London, 1968, p. 92.
20. *New Moral World*, 4 April 1840, p. 1222; 23 May 1840, p. 1244; *Northern Star*, 18 April 1840, p. 5; 2 October 1841, p. 7.
21. *New Moral World*, 23 May 1840, p. 1238. Eileen Yeo rightly refers to Heywood as a 'bridging figure' between the two movements. E. Yeo, 'Robert Owen and Radical Culture', S. Pollard & J. Salt (eds), *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor*, London, 1971, p. 111n.
22. *Northern Star*, 18 June 1842, p. 2; *New Moral World*, 15 September 1838, p. 379.
23. *Northern Star*, 17 July 1841, p. 7; *Manchester Times*, 11 April 1835, p. 1; *New Moral World*, 10 November 1838, p. 43.
24. *Herald of the Rights of Industry*, 22 February 1834, p. 20; *New Moral World*, 17 August 1839, pp. 673–81; *Manchester Times*, 11 April 1835, p. 1; *Northern Star*, 2 April 1842, pp. 6–7.
25. *Northern Star*, 23 July 1842, p. 2; *New Moral World*, 28 September 1839, p. 784; E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, op. cit., p. 309.
26. R. Cooper, 'An Autobiographical Sketch', *National Reformer*, 14 June 1868, pp. 373–4.
27. See D. de Giustino, *Conquest of Mind: Phrenology and Victorian Social Thought*, London, 1975, p. 125f.
28. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 9 November 1839, p. 2; *British Statesman*, 10 December 1842, p. 7; *Northern Star*, 19 June 1847, p. 8.
29. E. Yeo, op. cit., p. 91. See also B. Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, London, 1983, pp. 121–2; E. Royle & J. Walvin, *English Radicals and Reformers 1760–1848*, Lexington, 1982, p. 171.
30. *New Moral World*, 12 May 1838, p. 232. The details of disputes of this nature may often have been suppressed. During August 1838 a flourish of correspondence involving complaints against the District Board from Stansfield's No. 34 branch occurred, but the details of the dispute were not recorded even in the private minute books of the National Directors. The extent of the difficulties faced by the local Owenites was publicised, however, in several reports which detailed the deep division over whether to adopt paternal or democratic procedures for the administration of their affairs. See *Ms Minute Books of the Owenite Societies, 1835–45*, 17 August 1838, 20 August 1838; *New Moral World*, 13 August 1842, pp. 54–5; 12 November 1842, pp. 163–4.
31. Harrison, *Robert Owen*, op. cit., pp. 225–6.
32. For Lloyd Jones, see J. M. Wheeler, *A Biographical Dictionary of Freethinkers of All Ages*, London, 1889, p. 187; J. F. C. Harrison, *Robert Owen*, op. cit., p. 220n.
33. For Haslam, see Wheeler, op. cit., p. 164; J. McCabe (ed.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Rationalists*, London, 1920, col. 328; *Cleave's Weekly Police Gazette*, 2 July 1836, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 1 April 1848, p. 6; C. J. Haslam, *A Defence of Social Principles*, Manchester, 1837, p. 10; Manchester Central Reference Library, biography index. For Smith, see

E. T. Craig, 'Socialism in England: Historical Reminiscences', *American Socialist*, 3 January 1878, p. 3; R. Boston, *British Chartists in America 1839–1900*, Manchester, 1971, p. 95.

34. *Northern Star*, 13 February 1841, p. 8; 27 March 1841, p. 8; 7 August 1841, p. 2. See also *Northern Star*, 26 March 1842, p. 8; *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol.1, London, 1972, pp. 340–2; J. F. C. Harrison, *Robert Owen*, op. cit., p. 220.
35. *Northern Star*, 29 June 1839, p. 4; *New Moral World*, 7 March 1840, p. 1160.
36. *Northern Star*, 21 August 1841, p. 5; *Manchester Times*, 21 August 1841, p. 3; *New Moral World*, 28 August 1841, p. 70; 4 September 1841, p. 77.
37. See *New Moral World*, 10 March 1838, p. 156; 17 August 1839, p. 681; *Northern Star*, 6 July 1839, p. 6; 2 April 1842, pp. 6–7.
38. *New Moral World*, 9 October 1841, p. 119; *Manchester Times*, 2 October 1841, p. 3. See also B. Taylor, op. cit., p. 121; E. Yeo, 'Robert Owen', op. cit., p. 93; G. Claeys, op. cit., pp. 208–47.
39. B. Taylor, op. cit., p. 265. As the *New Moral World* recognised, 'every socialist was a Chartist, but...every Chartist was not a socialist', 18 June 1842, p. 411.
40. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 16 May 1840, p. 3.
41. *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 1 May 1841, p. 34; 7 August 1841, pp. 149–50; *Northern Star*, 24 April 1841, p. 6; *Manchester Times*, 7 November 1840, p. 7; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 30 November 1839, p. 1. See also *Northern Star*, 2 October 1841, pp. 6–7; *Chartist Circular*, 10 October 1840, p. 222; H. U. Faulkner, *Chartism and the Churches* (1916), London, 1970, pp. 28–33.
42. *English Chartist Circular*, 21 March 1841, p. 48.
43. Cited in R. Walmsley, *Peterloo: The Case Re-opened*, Manchester, 1969, p. 133. See also *Theological Comet or Free Thinking Englishman*, 6 November 1819, p. 125 for a similar poem entitled 'Saint Ethelstone's Day'; E. Yeo, 'Christianity and Chartist Struggle: 1838–42', *Past and Present*, No. 91, May 1981, pp. 110f.
44. *Manchester Observer*, 11 September 1819, p. 705.
45. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 16 May 1840, p. 3.
46. See P. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, London, 1984, pp. 28–9; P. Crittenden, 'Liberation Theology', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, Vol. 62, No.7, December 1985, pp. 14–23.
47. *Northern Star*, 28 November 1840, p. 2; 17 October 1840, p. 2. See also I. McCalman, op. cit., p. 142; W. H. Oliver, op. cit., pp. 169–74.
48. *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 4 November 1838, p. 5. See also 28 October 1838, p. 2.
49. B. Stott, *Songs for the Millions and Other Poems*, Middleton, 1843, pp. 9–10, 19–21, 26–7.
50. J. Scholefield, *Remarks on the Sermon, Adapted to the State of the Times, Preached by the Rev. John Stephens, in the Methodist Chapel, Oldham Street, Manchester*, Manchester, 1819, pp. 11, 16 & passim; P. A. Pickering & A. Tyrrell, '"In the Thickest of the Fight": The Reverend James Scholefield (1790–1855) and the Bible Christians of Manchester and Salford', *Albion*, vol. 26, no. 3, Fall 1994, pp. 461–82.

51. Romans, 13:1–2. I am grateful to Dr Ted Royle for bringing to my attention the irony that the Methodist preacher in question, John Stephens, was father of the Tory-radical, Reverend Joseph Raynor Stephens, who was popular among Chartists in the north.
52. J. Scholefield, *Remarks*, op. cit., p. 8.
53. *Manchester Guardian*, 1 October 1842, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 16 March 1839, p. 1; 28 November 1840, p. 2; 2 October 1841, pp. 6-7; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 16 March 1839, p. 3. For Taylor see *Northern Star*, 20 July 1839, p. 8. Jackson had *not* been a Baptist as has been written by some historians including: J. Lea, 'Baptists and the Working Class in Mid-Victorian Lancashire', in S. P. Bell (ed.), *Victorian Lancashire*, Devon, 1974, p. 73, and J. T. Ward, *Chartism*, London, 1973, p. 132.
54. *Lion*, 1 February 1829, p. 140. Dixon is misquoted by G. A. Williams, *Rowland Detrosier: A Working Class Infidel 1800–1834*, York, 1965, p. 4.
55. *Lion*, 18 January 1828, pp. 76–7; 1 February 1828, pp. 133–41; I. McCalman, 'Popular Radicalism and Freethought in Early Nineteenth Century England: A Study of Richard Carlile and his Followers 1815–1832', Unpublished MA Thesis, Australian National University, 1975, p.179.
56. *Lion*, 18 January 1828, p. 76.
57. J. Lea, op. cit., p. 74; I. McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, op. cit., pp. 73–4.
58. I. McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, op. cit., p. 74. Dixon retained a belief in the Holy Trinity 'in unity in the Godhead'. See *Lion*, 1 February 1828, p. 134.
59. J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming*, op. cit., pp. 138f.
60. *Lion*, 18 January 1828, p. 76; 1 February 1828, p. 135; J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming*, op. cit., pp. 142, 156–7.
61. J. K. Hopkins, op. cit., p. 214.
62. J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming*, op. cit., p. 157.
63. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 9 June 1838, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 29 August 1840, p. 1; 14 November 1840, p. 1; 20 March 1841, p. 1; *British Statesman*, 2 April 1842, p. 2. See also Faulkner, op. cit., p. 44.
64. *Northern Star*, 9 October 1841, p. 8; 27 November 1841, [2nd Edition], p. 8; *New Moral World*, 11 December 1841, p. 192.
65. See *Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, 1 October 1831, p. 1; 24 December 1831, p. 8; 4 February, 1832, pp. 4–5. See also N. J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution*, London, 1967, pp. 257–8; A. E. Musson, op. cit., pp. 187–9.
66. *New Moral World*, 3 November 1838, pp. 17–18.
67. *New Moral World*, 24 November 1838, pp. 78–9. The Tract and the 'Rules' were also published by Heywood. See *Northern Star*, 29 May 1841, p. 2.
68. *New Moral World*, 26 September 1840, p. 200.
69. *Northern Star*, 12 September 1840, p. 5.
70. *Northern Star*, 26 September 1840, p. 2. The Christian Chartist movement, notably in Scotland and Birmingham, developed at this time. In Scotland the movement had a socialist element. See *Chartist Circular*, 17 October 1840, p. 226. I have found no link between the Manchester group and the later Christian Socialist movement.

71. No further information on Barlow's career has come to light although he was probably the same 'Captain Thomas Barlow', a retired Waterloo veteran and lay preacher in Salford, who was expelled from the Methodists in 1834 for his opposition to Jabez Bunting. He was also involved in the Salford Temperance Society in the early 1830s. See *Manchester Guardian*, 8 November 1834, p. 2; *New Moral World*, 11 December 1841, p. 141; D. A. Gowland, *Methodist Secessions: The Origins of Free Methodism in three Lancashire towns: Manchester, Rochdale, Liverpool*, Manchester, 1979, pp. 43, 53, 155.
72. *Northern Star*, 4 December 1841, p. 3.
73. See *Parliamentary Gazetteer of England and Wales*, London, 1843, vol. 1, p. 401; *PP. First Report from the Select Committee on Railways* (1839) pp. 65–6; *Hansard* [House of Commons], 6 April 1826, col. 89–94; W. E. A. Axon, *The Annals of Manchester*, Manchester, 1886, pp. 171, 179, 187; E. Baines, *Baines' Lancashire: A New Printing of the History, Directory, and Gazetteer of the County Palatinate of Lancaster* (1824), New York, 1968, vol. 2, p. 676.
74. See *PP. Report from the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the State of Agriculture* (1836), p. 76f; *PP. Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture* (1833), p. 173f; G. J. Holyoake, op. cit., p. 103. See also J. J. Bagley, *A History of Lancashire*, London, 1976, p. 90.
75. See *United Trades Co-operative Journal*, 5 June 1830, p. 104; *Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, June 1832, pp. 13–15.
76. *Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, June 1832, p. 1; J. Johnson, *People I Have Met*, Isle of White, n.d., p. 138.
77. *Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, 9 July 1831, p. 4; J. F. C. Harrison, *Robert Owen*, op. cit., pp. 180–92.
78. Historians have noted fragments of the Chat Moss experiment. See G. J. Holyoake, op. cit., p. 103; A. E. Musson, op. cit., pp. 179–80; W. G. H. Armytage, *Heaven's Below: Utopian Experiments in England 1560–1960*, London, 1961, pp. 139–40, 142; M. Chase, *'The People's Farm': English Radical Agrarianism 1775–1840*, Oxford, 1982, pp. 155, 169, 171.
79. *Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, October 1832, pp. 10–12; November 1832, pp. 5–7.
80. *Northern Star*, 4 December 1841, p. 3; J. Johnson, op. cit., pp. 139–40.
81. *Precursor of Unity: A Monthly Magazine for the Many*, January 1844, p. 22. The report indicated that the land was under the superintendence of the Guardians of the Manchester Union.
82. *Victoria History of the Counties of England* [Lancashire, 8 volumes], vol. 4, 1911, p. 354. See also A. Redford, *History of Local Government in Manchester*, London, 1950, vol. 2, p. 428.
83. See A. Prentice, *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester 1792–1832* (1851), London, 1970, p. 35; S. Bamford, *Passages in the Life of a Radical* (1839–41), London, 1984, p. 13. See also D. Martin, 'Land Reform' in P. Hollis (ed.), *Pressure from Without*, London, 1974, pp. 136–7.
84. See G. Stedman-Jones, 'Rethinking Chartism', *Languages of Class*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 155–8; I. McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, op. cit., p. 201; M. Chase, op. cit., passim.

85. *Manchester Observer*, 23 September 1819, p. 731; *Northern Star*, 4 December 1841, p. 3; 31 July 1847, p. 2. See also *Republican*, 28 June 1822, p. 145; *Vegetarian Messenger*, July 1851, p. 6.
86. *Northern Star*, 16 May 1840, p. 6. O'Connor considered 1843 ripe for agitating the question of land reform, but traced his own interest in it back to 1833. See *English Chartist Circular*, 12 March 1843, pp. 248–9; 19 March 1843, pp. 255–6; 26 March 1843, p. 251.
87. *New Moral World*, 15 May 1841, p. 312; *Voice of the People*, 13 August 1831, p. 4. See also *New Moral World*, 25 April 1840, p. 1272; *Lancashire and Yorkshire Co-operator*, September 1832, pp. 2–5; *Promethean or Communitarian Apostle*, March 1842, p. 8. The notion of utilising waste land was popular beyond Chartist circles. As John Saville has rightly pointed out, most historians who have dismissed the Land Plan as 'ridiculous', 'mad', or 'reactionary' have 'missed the flood of discussion and debate concerning land questions during the 1830s and 1840s'. J. Saville, 'Introduction' to R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement* (1854), New York, 1969, pp. 51–61.
88. *Northern Star*, 24 April 1841, p. 6.
89. 'Rules of the National Land Company', *PP. First Report from the Select Committee on the National Land Company, Reports of Committees*, vol. XIII, 1847–48, App. 1, p. 50; *Northern Star*, 21 June 1845, p. 4; 2 August 1845, p. 5. By 1847 there was a third branch at Newton Heath. See *Northern Star*, 31 July 1847, p. 4. According to David Jones there were 87 branches of the Company in the north of England, *Chartism and the Chartists*, London, 1975, pp. 132–3.
90. *PP. Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the National Land Company, Reports from Committees*, vol. XIII, 1847–48, p. 16; *Northern Star*, 3 July 1847, p. 1; 31 July 1847, p. 1; D. Jones, op. cit., pp. 131–2. See also J. Schwarzkopf, *Women in the Chartist Movement*, London, 1991, p. 84.
91. A. M. Hadfield, *The Chartist Land Company*, Newton Abbot, 1970, App. 3; *PP. Third Report from the Select Committee on the National Land Company, Reports from Committees*, vol. XIII, 1847–8, p. 32.
92. J. Layhe, *Tenth Report of the Ministry to the Poor*, (1844), pp. 20-1, *Mf. Manchester Domestic Missionary Society 1833–1908*.
93. *Northern Star*, 22 August 1840, p. 7.

7 WORKING-CLASS SELF-HELP

1. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, 1980, p. 462.
2. W. Lovett & J. Collins, *Chartism: A New Organisation of the People* (1840), Leicester, 1969; *Northern Star*, 19 September 1840, p. 8.
3. *Chartist Circular*, 19 December 1840, p. 1. William Hill, editor of the *Northern Star*, was among the original signatories.
4. W. Lovett, *Life and Struggles of William Lovett in His Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge & Freedom* (1876), London, 1967, p. 204.

5. *Northern Star*, 3 April 1841, p. 7; 10 April 1841, p. 5; 17 April 1841, p. 1; 24 April 1841, pp. 1,6; 1 May 1841, p. 1.
6. M. Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, Manchester, 1918, pp. 232, 236. Brian Harrison has stated that the Teetotal Declaration was 'welcomed' by 'Moral force Chartists', but 'Chartists in the north were...hanging on O'Connor's every word'. This is unhelpful given the level of support for temperance in Manchester and Salford both before and after his repudiation. See 'Teetotal Chartism', *History*, vol. 58, 1973, pp. 198, 204.
7. W. Lovett, *Life and Struggles*, op. cit., p. 259.
8. T. Tholfsen, *Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England*, London, 1976, pp. 61, 83 and passim.
9. G. B. Hertz, *The Manchester Politician 1750–1912*, London, 1912, p. 51.
10. B. Love, *Handbook of Manchester*, Manchester, 1842, pp. 109–10; L. Faucher, *Manchester in 1844: its Present Condition and Future Prospects* (1844), London, 1969, p. 92n. See also J. T. Slugg, *Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago* (1881), Shannon, 1971, p. 293; *Odd Fellow*, 13 June 1840, p. 94; *Northern Star*, 2 August 1845, p. 6; P. H. Gosden, *The Friendly Society in England 1815–1875*, Manchester, 1961, pp. 22–3.
11. *Northern Star*, 12 June 1841, p. 4; HO 40/54 fol. 595, Shaw to Phillips, 4 February 1840.
12. E. P. Thompson, *The Making*, op. cit., p. 462; B. Love, *Chapters on Working People: How to Elevate their Morals and to Improve their Social Condition*, Manchester, 1843, pp. 18–19.
13. S. Bamford, *Passages in the Life of a Radical* (1839–41), London, 1984, pt 1, p. 45. See also P. H. Gosden, op. cit., pp. 156–7.
14. *Northern Star*, 17 December 1842, p. 6; 2 May 1846, p. 8; 9 May 1846, p. 8; 28 February 1852, p. 5; *British Statesman*, 26 November 1842, p. 7; *Manchester Guardian*, 21 August 1893, pp. 5–6; B. Stott, *Songs for the Millions and Other Poems*, Middleton, 1843, pp. 85, 37–45; *Ms. Volume of Cuttings and Other Material Relating to Reginald John Richardson*, Manchester Central Reference Library, pp. 19, 145.
15. *Odd Fellow*, 8 May 1841, p. 76. Garnett, a wealthy landowner, unsuccessfully stood against radical Joseph Brotherton in 1832, 1837 and 1841; he was appointed High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1843. See W. E. A. Axon, *The Annals of Manchester*, Manchester, 1886, pp. xv, 220.
16. *Ms. Volume of Cuttings and Other Material Relating to Reginald John Richardson*, op. cit., pp. 109–10.
17. Ibid.
18. *Northern Star*, 19 July 1845, p. 6; 26 July 1845, p. 6.
19. For examples, see *Northern Star*, 29 September 1838, p. 6; 22 August 1840, p. 6; 2 June 1841, p. 2; 2 October 1841, p. 6; *Manchester Guardian*, 29 September 1841, p. 2; *British Statesman*, 26 November 1842, p. 7.
20. L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 30; N. Longmate, *The Water-Drinkers: A History of Temperance*, London, 1968, p. 115; F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), London, 1979, pp. 157–8; B. Love, *Manchester As It Is* (1839), Manchester, 1971, pp. 75–6; *Star of Temperance*, 27 August 1836, p. 277; 19 November 1836, p. 376; *Manchester and Salford Temperance Journal*, 12 March 1836, p. 8; 18 June 1836, p. 120.

21. W. E. A. Axon, op. cit., pp. 190, 193.
22. *Star of Temperance*, 5 March 1836, p. 75; *English Chartist Circular*, 23 January 1842, pp. 14–15.
23. *English Chartist Circular*, 21 February 1841, p. 30; *Northern Star*, 8 October 1842, [2nd Edition], p. 1; 22 October 1842, p. 1; 5 November 1842, pp. 1, 5; *Star of Temperance*, 13 February 1836, p. 56.
24. Chambers' 'coffee house' had operated in Every Street, Ancoats, since at least the mid-1830s. In c.1840 he relocated to a Temperance Hotel in Cornwall Street. See *Manchester and Salford Temperance Journal*, 26 March 1836, p. 24; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 January 1840, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 1 August 1840, p. 1; 12 June 1841, p. 8; 26 March 1842, [2nd Edition], p. 8; 22 April 1848, p. 1.
25. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 28 September 1839, p. 3.
26. *Star of Temperance*, 30 April 1836, p. 144; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 14 September 1839, p. 2.
27. W. E. A. Axon, op. cit., p. 374.
28. *Northern Star*, 24 October 1840, p. 6.
29. *Northern Star*, 4 December 1841, p. 3; *British Statesman*, 15 May 1842, p. 9. Dixon continued to advocate teetotalism, being one of those to contribute to the United Kingdom Alliance in the late 1860s. See B. Harrison, 'The British Prohibitionists 1853–72. A Biographical Analysis', *International Review of Social History*, vol. XV, 1970, p. 434.
30. *Northern Star*, 5 December 1840, p. 5. See also E. P. Thompson, *The Making*, op. cit., pp. 813–14.
31. These included James Scholefield, William Jackson, William Griffin, James Leach, Richard Littler, William Smith, William Thomason, Thomas Whittaker, James Cartledge, R.M. Holmes, Matthew Green, Thomas Davies, James White, Joseph Linney and Henry Nuttall. See *Northern Star*, 5 December 1840, p. 5; 19 December 1840, p. 1; 16 January 1841, pp. 1, 5; 6 February 1841, p. 5; 13 February 1841, p. 3; *English Chartist Circular*, 28 February 1841, p. 35; 7 March 1841, p. 39. Brian Harrison has suggested that there were 135 'known signatories' to the Address, but this fails to take account of signatures noted in the *Northern Star*. His contention that 26 of the 135 signatories were from Lancashire is incorrect. In addition to those from Manchester there were 11 from Burnley, 5 from Liverpool, 19 from Oldham and 5 from Preston. His point that the Address was dominated by signatories who hailed from the north of England still applies, however. See B. Harrison, 'Teetotal Chartism', op. cit., pp. 199, 199n.
32. *Northern Star*, 24 October 1840, p. 6.
33. *Northern Star*, 13 February 1841, p. 3. See also *English Chartist Circular*, 28 March 1841, p. 50.
34. *English Chartist Circular*, 21 February 1841, p. 30.
35. Ibid. The 'MERRY CHARTISTS' of Brown Street had been holding weekly sessions for the 'healthful recreations of dancing, singing, recitations &c on pure teetotal principles' since mid-1840. The Brown Street branch is probably the 'teetotal Chartist group' at Manchester referred to fleetingly by Lillian Shiman. See *Northern Star*, 11 July 1840, p. 1; L. L. Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*, London, 1988, p. 28.
36. *People's Paper*, 12 February 1853, p. 2.

37. T. Carlyle, 'Chartism' (1839), *Selected Writings*, ed. by A. Shelton, Harmondsworth, 1980, p. 151; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 2 November 1839, p. 4.
38. W. L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, London, 1968, ch. 1; Manchester Central Reference Library, newspaper cuttings: *Notes and Queries*, 12 March 1903, pp. 182–3; *Northern Star*, 2 April 1842, pp. 6–7. The *Northern Star* report noted that during the day's proceedings, 'not a drunken, bad tempered, disorderly man, woman, or child was to be seen…'.
39. *Numbers of Persons Taken into Custody by the Manchester Police and the Results in the Year 1840 with a Miscellaneous and Comparative Table*, Manchester, 1841, p. 31; J. Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862*, London, 1862, p. 161; L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 48.
40. *PP. Report from the Select Committee on Public Houses* (1854), *Reports from Committees* (8), XIV, q. 2182; J. Kay-Shuttleworth, *Public Education*, op. cit., pp. 134–5.
41. For a discussion of the centrality of the pub in working-class life and its attractions for working people see P. Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England*, London, 1978, ch. 1; B. Harrison, 'Pubs' in H. J. Dyos & M. Wolff (eds), *The Victorian City*, London, 1973, vol. 1, pp. 161–90; idem, *Drink and the Victorians*, London, 1971, ch. 2; M. B. Smith, 'Victorian Entertainment in the Lancashire Cotton Towns', in S. P. Bell (ed.), *Victorian Lancashire*, Devon, 1974, p. 173f.; C. Waters, 'Manchester Morality and London Capital: The Battle over the Palace of Varieties' in P. Bailey (ed.), *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*, Milton Keynes, 1986, pp. 142–3.
42. J. M. Ludlow & Lloyd Jones, *Progress of the Working Class 1832–1867* (1867), Clifton, 1973, p. 17.
43. *Littell's Living Age*, 1853, cited in R. E. Turner, *James Silk Buckingham 1786–1855: A Social Biography*, London, 1934, p. 394.
44. L. Faucher, op. cit., p. 52. See also B. Harrison, *Drink*, op. cit., pp. 52–4.
45. *Herald of the Rights of Industry*, 8 February 1834, p. 8; W. Lovett & J. Collins, op. cit., p. 25. See also *Poor Man's Advocate*, 3 November 1832, pp. 4–5; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 23 December 1837, p. 4; 4 April 1840, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 17 October 1840, p. 6.
46. *North of England Magazine*, October 1842, pp. 562–3; *Northern Star*, 11 July 1840, p. 1; 13 February 1841, p. 1; 3 April 1841, p. 1; 12 June 1841, p. 1; 23 July 1842, p. 2.
47. *Northern Star*, 17 July 1847, p. 8.
48. *Manchester Times*, 21 December 1839, pp. 2–3; HO 40/54 fol. 889, Shaw to Phillips, 20 December 1840.
49. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 20 October 1838, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 14 March 1840, p. 5; *PP. Report from the Select Committee on Public Houses* (1854), op. cit., q. 3657; *Manchester Times*, 6 October 1838, p. 3; 2 March 1839, p. 3; 26 January 1843, p. 4; *Manchester Courier*, 29 September 1839, p. 4. Nightingale was involved in the Licensed Victuallers' Protection Society which owned the *Manchester and Salford Advertiser* during the early 1830s. See F. Leary, *Ms. History of the Manchester Periodical Press*, 1889, Manchester Central Reference Library, p. 176.

50. HO 52/42 fol. 111; *Manchester Times*, 21 December 1839, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 21 November 1840, p. 5.
51. *Northern Star*, 25 July 1840, p. 5; 13 February 1841, p. 3; *English Chartist Circular*, 28 February 1841, p. 35; F. O'Connor (ed.), *The Trial of Feargus O'Connor Esq and Fifty-Eight Others at Lancaster on a Charge of Sedition, Conspiracy and Riot* (1843), New York, 1970, p. 117f. In 1842 Leach claimed that his signature had been forged, but at the time of signing he had called upon the Chartists at Brown Street 'to become teetotallers as he had done'. See D. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists*, London, 1975, p. 46; *Northern Star*, 13 February 1841, p. 2.
52. *Northern Star*, 22 August 1840, p. 7; F. O'Connor, op. cit., pp. 117f. Later McDouall advocated moderation as opposed to total abstinence. See *People's Paper*, 6 November 1852, p. 3.
53. See E. P. Thompson, 'On History, Sociology and Historical Relevance', *British Journal of Sociology*, September 1976, p. 401; P. Bailey, 'Will the Real Bill Banks Please Stand Up?: Towards a Role Analysis of Mid-Victorian Respectability', *Journal of Social History*, vol. 12, 1978–79, pp. 336–53; B. Harrison, 'Teetotal Chartism' op. cit., p. 194.
54. See T. Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper* (1872), Leicester, 1971, p. 59; W. Lovett, *The Life and Struggles*, op. cit., pp. 30–3; B. Harrison & P. Hollis (eds), *Robert Lowery: Radical and Chartist*, London, 1979, p. 63. See also D. Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom*, London, 1981, pt 3.
55. *Republican*, 10 May 1822, pp. 586–7, 596–7; *Lion*, 18 January 1828, p. 70; 25 April 1828, pp. 540–2; *Isis*, 15 September 1832, p. 484; *Manchester Times*, 19 November 1842, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 2 September 1843, p. 3; W. E. A. Axon, *Annals*, op. cit., p. 431; Manchester Central Reference Library, biography index.
56. *Manchester Guardian*, 21 August 1893, p. 5; *Northern Star*, 6 February 1841, p. 1; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 25 July 1840, p. 2; W. E. A. Axon, *The Mayor of Manchester and His Slanders*, Manchester, 1877, p. 7; *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. 6, London, 1982, pp. 141–4.
57. *Northern Star*, 28 September 1839, p. 8. For a list of 'Useful and Interesting Publications' printed and sold by Heywood, see *Odd Fellow*, 9 June 1841, p. 8.
58. *Manchester Times*, 25 June 1842, p. 3; E. P. Thompson, *The Making*, op. cit., p. 781. See also F. Engels, op. cit., p. 265; R. Vaughan, *The Age of Great Cities* (1843), Shannon, 1971, p. 152; E. Gaskell, *Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life* (1848), Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 786.
59. *Northern Star*, 12 September 1840, p. 8; 19 September 1840, p. 8; *British Statesman*, 6 August 1842, p. 9. For other examples see *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 9 December 1837, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 4 April 1840, p. 5; 19 December 1840, p. 2; 6 February 1841, p. 5; 23 April 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 2. See M. Cullen, 'The Chartists and Education', *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. X, no. 2, October 1976, p. 166; M. Hovell, op. cit., p. 311.
60. *PP. Second Report of the Commission on the State of Large Towns and Population Districts* (1845), App. II, *Report on the State of the Parochial and other Schools for the Poor at Manchester*, by W. Fleming, p. 98; B. Love, *Manchester As It Is*, op. cit., pp. 90–1; *Manchester Times*,

1 December 1838, p. 2; 13 June 1840, p. 2; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 16 February 1839, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 27 November 1841 [2nd Edition], p. 8; 1 October 1842, p. 7; E. & R. Frow, *Chartism in Manchester 1838–1858*, Manchester, 1980, p. 23; F. O'Connor, op. cit., p. 121.

61. *British Statesman*, 26 June 1842, p. 11; 2 July 1842, p. 10; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 25 July 1840, p. 2; *Ms. Volume of Cuttings and Other Material Relating to Reginald John Richardson*, op. cit., p. 147; *Manchester Guardian*, 19 August 1840, p. 3. Heywood was also involved in the running of the Manchester Lyceum. See E. Herford, *Ms. Diaries*, Manchester Central Reference Library, vol. 2, 16 December 1839.

62. O'Connor cited in H. Silver, *English Education and the Radicals*, London, 1975, p. 80; J. P. Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (1832), Manchester, 1969, p. 97. See also *Northern Star*, 3 April 1841, p. 7; *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 1 May 1841, pp. 34–5; R. G. Gammage, *A History of the Chartist Movement 1837–1854* (1854), New York, 1969, pp. 196–7.

63. *Manchester Times*, 6 October 1838, p. 3.

64. M. Tylecote, *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851*, Manchester, 1951, pp. 78–9; B. Love, *Manchester As It Is*, op. cit., pp. 108–9; *British Statesman*, 16 July 1842, p. 6; *North of England Magazine*, July 1842, p. 353–4; October 1842, p. 562.

65. J. T. Slugg, op. cit., pp. 270–1; M. Tylecote, op. cit., p. 137. By the late 1830s the Mechanics Institute, like the Manchester Athenaeum, was a remote organisation with which few working-class people had any contact. An analysis of figures in a Parliamentary Gazetteer in the early 1840s shows that of the total membership of 1161 in 1838 (less than 1% of the population), 22.6% were 'merchants, manufacturers and machinists', 14% were 'warehousemen', 7.4% were 'clerks', 5.9% 'shopkeepers and their assistants' and 4% 'artists, architects, engravers'. See *Parliamentary Gazetteer of England and Wales*, 1840–44, vol. 3, p. 362. See also J. W. Hudson, *The History of Adult Education* (1851), New York, 1969, pp. 131, & 110–38; J. Seed, 'Unitarianism, Political Economy and the Antinomies of Liberal Culture in Manchester, 1830–1850', *Social History*, vol. 7, no. 1, January 1982, pp. 12–13; P. E. Razzell & R. W. Wainwright (eds), *The Victorian Working Class: Selections from Letters to the Morning Chronicle*, London, 1974, pp. 251–2.

66. *Northern Star*, 31 July 1841, p. 7; 2 October 1841, p. 5; 15 October 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 8. See also B. Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780–1850*, London, 1974, pp. 251–2.

67. *Poor Man's Guardian*, 9 February 1833, p. 48; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 27 January 1838, p. 7; *Northern Star*, 26 October 1839, p. 7.

68. *Northern Star*, 31 October 1840, p. 5; 6 February 1841, p. 2; 13 March 1841, p. 5; 3 April 1841, p. 1; 31 July 1841, p. 7.

69. *Northern Star*, 10 October 1840, p. 2; 22 January 1842, p. 1; B. Simon, *The Two Nations*, op. cit., p. 244.

70. *Northern Star*, 10 September 1842, p. 2; B. Simon, *The Two Nations* op. cit., pp. 244–5. In mid-1842 the fustian-cutters' NCA branch also opened a 'mutual improvement class, which meets every Wednesday when

essays are read, and discussion entered into on various political questions'. See *Northern Star*, 6 August 1842, p. 1.

71. *Northern Star*, 6 April 1844, p. 4; 25 January 1845, p. 7; *People's Paper*, 30 October 1852, p. 2; 29 January 1853, p. 2.
72. D. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists*, London, 1975, p. 103. See also B. Simon, *Studies in the History of Education 1780–1870*, London, 1960, pp. 18–71.
73. HO 45/46 fol. 3, 'Chartist Plan of Lecturers for South Lancashire, 1841'; *Northern Star*, 6 August 1842, p. 1.
74. *Northern Star*, 17 July 1841, p. 2.
75. *Northern Star*, 5 December 1840, p. 2; 15 January 1842, p. 2; 4 September 1841, p. 1; 18 June 1842, p. 5; 16 July 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 8.
76. R. G. Gammage, op. cit., p. 11; J. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom*, London, 1982, pp. 10–11.
77. *Northern Star*, 17 October 1840, p. 6; 28 November 1840, p. 2; 19 December 1840, p. 1; 30 January 1841, p. 4; *British Statesman*, 8 May 1842, p. 5; R. G. Gammage, op. cit., pp. 211, 269.
78. T. R. Tholfsen, op. cit., p. 83.
79. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 14 October 1837, p. 3; *Manchester Times*, 14 December 1839, p. 2; 29 January 1842, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 5 December 1840, p. 2; A. Prentice, *Organic Changes necessary to complete the system of Representation Partially amended by the Reform Bill*, London, 1839, p. 14.
80. R. G. Gammage, op. cit., pp. 196–7.
81. Detrosier cited in H. Silver, op. cit., p. 35. See also B. Simon, *The Two Nations*, op. cit., p. 132.
82. D. Ross, *The State of the Country or the Effect of Class Legislation: and the Charter as the Remedy*, Manchester, 1842, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 23 April 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 2.
83. T. P. Newbould (ed.), *Pages from a Life of Strife, being some recollections of William Henry Chadwick the last of the Manchester Chartists*, London, n.d., pp. 33 (facing), 37.

8 PRISON, POVERTY AND PROFESSIONAL POLITICS: A BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LOCAL CHARTIST LEADERSHIP

1. G. D. H. Cole, *Chartist Portraits*, London, 1941. The main exception is the prosopographic analysis completed by Christopher Godfrey, *Chartist Lives*, New York, 1987. Other exceptions are studies of Chartist prisoners by Godfrey and F. B. Smith; Dorothy Thompson includes several useful biographical sketches and comparative discussion in her 1984 book. Alexander Wilson has published a collection of Scottish Chartist biographies and Stephen Roberts an important study of the 'second lieutenants' of Chartism, but neither includes a comparative analysis. F. B. Smith, 'The Plug Plot Prisoners and the Chartists', *Australian National*

University Journal, no. 7, November 1970, pp. 3–15; C. Godfrey, 'The Chartist Prisoners, 1839–41', *International Review of Social History*, vol. XXIV, 1979, pt 2, pp. 189–236; D. Thompson, *The Chartists*, London, 1984; A. Wilson, *Mf. Scottish Chartist Biographies*, first published on microfilm 1965, Manchester, 1988, ML 89–44; S. Roberts, *Radical Politicians and Poets in Early Victorian Britain*, Lampeter, 1993. See also F. F. Rosenblatt, *The Chartist Movement in its Social and Economic Aspects* (1916), London, 1967, pp. 98–137; M. Beer, *A History of British Socialism*, vol. 2, London, 1921, pp. 4–22; E. Royle, *Chartism*, London, 1980, pp. 56–61.

2. D. Read, 'Chartism in Manchester', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, London, 1959. The Frows include seven biographical summaries in their short study, but offer no comparative discussion. See *Chartism in Manchester*, Manchester, 1982.
3. The model for this chapter is derived from Brian Harrison's analysis of the temperance leadership. See B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in Victorian England and Wales 1815–1872*, London, 1971, ch. 7; 'The British Prohibitionists. A Biographical Analysis', *International Review of Social History*, vol. XV, 1970, pp. 375–467.
4. *Northern Star*, 12 June 1847 [3rd Edition], p. 8.
5. This is in keeping with the findings of other historians. Hovell described the National Convention as a 'middle aged body'; Royle has suggested that, with a couple of exceptions, the leadership of Chartism 'were all men of mature years when Chartism commenced'. Godfrey has calculated the median age of the Chartist prisoners interviewed in 1840–41 as slightly younger than the Manchester sample at 31. See M. Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, Manchester, 1918, p. 123; E. Royle, op. cit., p. 57; C. Godfrey, *Chartist Lives*, op. cit., pp. 59, 85.
6. The 1851 Census highlighted that half the adult population of Manchester was born elsewhere. See M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 34–8.
7. In a recent entry to the *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, (vol. 9, London, 1993, p. 171), the Frows and John Saville have suggested that Leach was born 'about 1804' and 'seems to have settled in Manchester in 1833'. At the time of his arrest and trial in 1848, however, it was stated that he was 42 years old (born 1806) and had lived in Manchester for 22 years (settled 1826). This information was confirmed on subsequent occasions. See *Manchester Guardian*, 19 August 1848, p. 7; *Northern Star*, 6 January 1849, p. 7; 22 March 1851, p. 1; *Reports of State Trials*, New Series, vol. VII, 1848–1850, ed. John MacDonell, London, 1970, col. 769.
8. In national terms both men and women at this time were marrying younger and the proportion of people never marrying was considerably lower than for most of the previous century. See E. A. Wrigley & R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1981, pp. 255, 260.
9. This was below the national birth/marriage average for 1840–49 of 4.425. See ibid, pp. 189–91. Godfrey also highlights the high incidence of marriage and children. See *Chartist Lives*, op. cit., p. 61.

10. *Manchester Times*, 7 July 1838, p. 3.
11. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 20 January 1838, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 27 July 1839, p. 5; 26 December 1840, p. 5; *Manchester Guardian*, 21 August 1893, pp. 5–6.
12. *Northern Star*, 25 April 1840, p. 7. See also *Northern Star*, 9 February 1839, p. 5.
13. These included Elijah Dixon, Joseph Linney, Daniel Donovan, James Wheeler, John Murray, Richard Littler and Thomas Rankin.
14. *1851 Census Great Britain Report and Tables on Religious Worship England and Wales*, *Accounts and Papers* (33) vol. LXXXIX, 1852–53, table K, p. ccxcvii; F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), London, 1979, p. 155.
15. *Poor Man's Advocate*, 24 November 1832, p. 4. By contrast, Godfrey has found a high number of Anglicans among the Chartist leadership, although many were 'lax in their faith', *Chartist Lives*, op. cit., pp. 56, 83.
16. *Lion*, 18 January 1828, pp. 68, 76.
17. W. R. Ward, *Religion and Society in England 1790–1850*, London, 1972, p. 179; S. D. Simon, *A Century of City Government: Manchester 1838–1938*, London, 1938, pp. 63–5. Donovan was another opponent of Church rates. See *Northern Star*, 26 April 1845, p. 1.
18. *Manchester Guardian*, 1 October 1842, p. 3; *Northern Star*, 16 March 1839, p. 7; 28 November 1840, p. 2; 2 October 1841, pp. 6–7; *Manchester Times*, 11 July 1835, pp. 2-3; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 16 May 1840, p. 3.
19. J. Scholefield, *Remarks on The Sermon, Adapted to the State of the Times, Preached by the Rev. John Stephens, In the Methodist Chapel, Oldham Street, Manchester*, Manchester, 1819, p. 3; *Manchester Observer*, 4 September 1819, p. 697. See also P. A. Pickering & A. Tyrrell, '"In the Thickest of the Fight": The Reverend James Scholefield (1790–1855) and the Bible Christians of Manchester and Salford', *Albion*, vol. 26, no. 3, 1994, pp. 461–82.
20. W. E. A. Axon, *A History of the Bible Christian Church Salford*, Manchester, 1909, pp. 33–4.
21. According to R. K. Webb, among the working classes in general two-thirds to three-quarters had at least a basic level of literacy, *The British Working Class Reader 1790–1848*, London, 1955, pp. 21–2. Godfrey has come to the same conclusion, *Chartist Lives*, op. cit., p. 61.
22. *Northern Star*, 6 January 1838, p. 4; 9 June 1838, p. 4; 9 February 1839, p. 4; 25 March 1843, p. 3; 30 September 1843, p. 3; 1 February 1845, p. 3; 19 April 1845, p. 3; 10 March 1849, p. 4; Y. V. Kovalev, *An Anthology of Chartist Literature*, Moscow, 1956, pp. 113–14; P. Scheckner (ed.), *An Anthology of Chartist Poetry*, London, 1989, pp. 300–2.
23. *Northern Star*, 1 October 1842, p. 7; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 16 February 1839, p. 4; *Miner's Advocate*, 16 December 1843, pp. 14–15; 29 June 1844, p. 128; 14 December 1844, p. 201; F. O'Connor (ed.), *The Trial of Feargus O'Connor and Fifty Eight Others on a Charge of Sedition, Conspiracy, Tumult and Riot* (1843), New York, 1970, p. 121.
24. HO 20/10 *Report upon the Treatment and Condition of the Prisoners convicted of Political Offences at Present Undergoing Imprisonment in the*

County Gaol of Lancaster, 10 December 1840; *Operative*, 3 March 1839, p. 1.

25. J. Johnson, *By-gone Manchester Booksellers*, no. 1, December 1883, p. 2; *People's Paper*, 23 September 1854, p. 1.
26. HO 40/54 fol. 889, December 1840; F. O'Connor, op. cit., pp. 130, 163.
27. *Manchester Observer*, 2 October 1819, p. 731; *Star of Temperance*, 14 May 1836, p. 159; J. Scholefield (ed.), *A System of Vegetable Cookery as Used by the Society of Bible Christians* (1839); *Select Hymns for the Use of Bible Christians with an Appendix by Jas. Scholefield*, Manchester, 1841; P. A. Pickering & A. Tyrrell, op. cit.
28. *Manchester Times*, 10 April 1841, p. 3. Dean's level of education was also evident from his correspondence contained in the Home Office files. See HO 45/46 fol. 13, March 1841.
29. Dorothy Thompson has argued that 'Many – perhaps most – Chartist leaders were either temperance supporters or teetotallers', *The Chartists*, op. cit., p. 260.
30. J. Rowley, 'Joseph Linney' in *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. VI, London, 1982, p. 160. Rowley suggests that Linney remained a total abstainer despite his occupation.
31. E. P. Thompson, 'On History, Sociology and Historical Relevance', *British Journal of Sociology*, September 1976, p. 401.
32. *Manchester Times*, 19 December 1835, p. 3; F. O'Connor (ed.), op. cit., p. 289.
33. By this time two had died; two had emigrated to North America and at least three had ended their association with the movement.
34. *Manchester Guardian*, 12 April 1848, p. 6; 19 April 1848, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 22 April 1848, p. 1; 8 February 1851, p. 1; 19 April 1851, p. 1; 27 September 1851, p. 3. In London, Doyle was associated with the breakaway National Charter League, committed to an alliance with the PFRA. See S. Roberts, *Radical Politicians and Poets in Early Victorian Britain*, Lampeter, 1993, p. 99. By the mid-1840s Nightingale had severed his links with the Chartists and had allied himself with the middle-class liberal-radicals. In 1859 he was a vice-President of the Lancashire Reformers' Union, a successor organisation to the ACLL. See *Manchester Guardian*, 9 March 1859, p. 1.
35. See E. Hobsbawm & J. W. Scott, 'Political Shoemakers' in *Worlds of Labour: Further Studies in the History of Labour*, London, 1984, pp. 103–30.
36. Godfrey's sample of 21 Manchester Chartists arrested in 1839-40 contains five weavers, two cotton-spinners and three shoemakers, *Chartist Lives*, op. cit., p. 74.
37. See J. West, *A History of the Chartist Movement*, London, 1920, p. 187; A. Briggs, 'The Local Background to Chartism', *Chartist Studies*, London, 1959, p. 8; F. C. Mather, *Chartism*, London, 1965, p. 11; D. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists*, London, 1975, pp. 24–5. For a revisionist view, see D. Bythell, *The Handloom Weavers: A Study in the English Cotton Industry during the Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 19–20, 222.
38. Godfrey has concluded that Chartists were '*representative* of their respective communities', *Chartist Lives*, op. cit., p. 63.

39. *Northern Star*, 28 September 1840, pp. 7–8; 12 June 1841, p. 5; HO 45/46 fol. 13, March 1841; *Manchester Guardian*, 1 October 1842, p. 3; F. O'Connor, op. cit., pp. 268, 442.
40. Manchester Central Reference Library, biography index: *Manchester Guardian*, 9 December 1892; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 28 March 1840, p. 4; J. Johnson, *By-Gone Manchester Booksellers*, op. cit., pp. 1–4; *Northern Star*, 17 July 1841, p. 7; 7 October 1841, p. 7; J. T. Slugg, *Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago* (1881), Shannon, 1971, pp. 86–7; J. Rowley, op. cit., p. 161.
41. *Lion*, 1 February 1833, p. 133; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 4 March 1837, p. 4; *Manchester Times*, 11 May 1839, p. 3. According to his friend Joseph Johnson, 'He [Dixon] knew, none knew better, the privations and difficulties to which working men were subject. His experience was their experience.' See *People I Have Met*, n.d., Isle of Man, p. 137.
42. *Manchester Guardian*, 8 March 1843, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 16 March 1839, p. 1; HO 52/42, Shaw to HO, 20 December 1842; D. Thompson, *The Chartists*, op. cit., p. 219.
43. F. O'Connor, op. cit., p. 157; *Northern Star*, 2 December 1848 [3rd Edition], p. 8; *Ms. Register of Christ Church, Every Street, Manchester*, Manchester Central Reference Library, p. 1. The Report of Chadwick's Commission noted that 'in the lowest districts of Manchester of 1000 children born, more than 570 will have died before they attain the fifth year of their age'. See *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1842) ed. by W. Flynn, Edinburgh, 1965, pp. 244–5.
44. Nevertheless by 1858 there were 40 000 committals a year in Lancashire. See M. E. DeLacy, 'Grinding Men Good? Lancashire's Prisons at mid-Century' in V. Bailey (ed.), *Policing and Punishment in Nineteenth Century Britain*, London, 1987, p. 184. Prison was a common experience among leading Chartists across Britain. See *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 26 April 1840, p. 4; *English Chartist Circular*, 16 July 1843, p. 321; 26 November 1843, p. 401.
45. M. E. DeLacy, op. cit., p. 182. See also J. Wheeler, *Manchester: Its Political, Social and Commercial History*, London, 1842, pp. 355–8. It was not until the 1865 Prison Act that a 'much less rigorous regime with more privileges' for political prisoners was created. See C. Harding, B. Hines, R. Ireland & P. Rawlings, *Imprisonment in England and Wales: A Concise History*, London, 1985, p. 259.
46. See M. E. DeLacy, op. cit.; M. Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution 1750–1850*, London, 1978, ch. 6–8; J. J. Tobias, *Crime and Industrial Society in the Nineteenth Century*, Harmondsworth, 1967.
47. M. E. DeLacy, op. cit., p. 183.
48. *Northern Star*, 17 March 1849 [3rd Edition], p. 8. See also M. E. DeLacy, op. cit., pp. 190, 195–7; T. Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper* (1872), Leicester, 1971, p. 237f; W. Lovett, *Life and Struggles of William Lovett in Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge and Freedom* (1876), London, 1967, pp. 185–95; C. Godfrey, 'Chartist Prisoners', op. cit., pp. 217–22.
49. *Northern Star*, 9 January 1841, p. 3; 2 March 1844, p. 7. Solitary confinement or the treadmill were the most common disciplinary tools at

this time; the cat-o'-nine tails was infrequently used, but remained an ever-present threat.

50. *Manchester Guardian*, 21 August 1893, p. 6.
51. *Northern Star*, 12 September 1840, p. 5; 24 October 1840, p. 3; 2 January 1841, p. 2; 2 March 1844, p. 7; 17 March 1849 [3rd Edition], p. 8; *A Return for Each Gaol and House of Correction in the United Kingdom*, 5 August 1840, *PP. Accounts and Papers* (10), 1840, XXXVIII, pp. 12–13. Another report in the *Northern Star*, however, observed that Richardson and Butterworth 'did not appear to have suffered materially in their health' upon their release; according to Sir Charles Shaw, Richardson 'came out of prison...much fatter than when he entered'. *Northern Star*, 2 January 1841, p. 2; HO 45/46, fol. 24, Shaw to HO, June 1841.
52. See C. Godfrey, 'Chartist Prisoners', op. cit., p. 215.
53. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 28 March 1840, p. 4. Linney was released on his own recognisances on this occasion, but in 1842–43 he spent 21 months in prison, and in 1848 counselled caution to those Chartists who 'appeared wishful to have a taste of prison'. See *Northern Star*, 2 March 1844, p. 7; D. Jones, op. cit., p. 151.
54. *Northern Star*, 10 December 1840, p. 1; 2 January 1841, p. 2. Butterworth wrote to the Manchester Chartists from his cell: 'that love of liberty which gets a man into prison will comfort him when he is in there'. *Northern Star*, 21 November 1841, p. 1. See also 5 September 1840, p. 2.
55. *Northern Star*, 9 January 1841, p. 3; 27 August 1842, p. 5.
56. See *Northern Star*, 3 October 1840, p. 8; 5 December 1840, p. 2; 9 January 1841, p. 3. William Linton, a London Chartist, referred to Chartists such as Heywood taking a 'Prison degree', *Memories* (1894), New York, 1970, p. 28.
57. *Northern Star*, 16 January 1841, p. 1; HO 20/10 *Report on the Treatment and Condition of the Political Prisoners Convicted of Political Offences at Present Undergoing Imprisonment at the House of Correction at Preston*, December 1840. See also *Northern Star*, 3 October 1840, p. 8.
58. *British Statesman*, 8 October 1842, pp. 5–6; F. O'Connor, op. cit., pp. 130, 440.
59. Psychoanalytic studies of politics tell us that, as a child, the 'traitor' had 'drastically split loyalties between parents', but we do not have the evidence with which to test this hypothesis. See A. F. Davies, *Skills, Outlooks and Passions: A Psychoanalytic Contribution to the Study of Politics*, Cambridge, 1980, p. 401.
60. *Northern Star*, 15 February 1845, p. 6. The allegations originated with Peter McDouall.
61. HO 44/35, Shaw to Phillips, May 1840; *Hansard* [Lords], 4 August 1840, col. 1230-3. See also E. & R. Frow, 'Abel Heywood' in *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. 6, London, 1982, pp. 142–3.
62. See P. A. Pickering, 'Chartism and the "Trade of Agitation" in Early Victorian Britain', *History*, vol. 76, no. 247, June 1991, pp. 221–37. I have further work planned on this theme.
63. F. Engels, 'A Working Man's Party' (1881) reprinted in K. Marx & F. Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Moscow, 1978, p. 376; J. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom*, London, 1982, p. 220f. See also T. Rothstein, *From Chartism to*

Labourism (1929), London, 1983, p. 68; N. Stewart, *The Fight for the Charter*, London, 1937, pp. 147–8.

64. H. J. Hanham, *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone*, Sussex, 1979, p. 238f. See also N. Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation*, London, 1953, pp. 105–36.
65. *Manchester Times*, 12 June 1841, p. 4.
66. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 16 February 1839, p. 2; HO 40/53, fol. 927; *Northern Star*, 17 October 1840, p. 2. According to this report Richardson's weekly sales had dropped to 100.
67. HO 44/35 'Memorial from Abel Heywood to Maquis of Normanby', April 1840; F. Leary, *Ms. History of the Manchester Periodical Press*, 1889, Manchester Central Reference Library, p. 212.
68. Heywood detailed an extensive range of periodicals in evidence before Milner Gibson's Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps, *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1851, (588), vol. XVII, pp. 371–89.
69. HO 44/35 'Memorial' op.cit.; *Hansard* [Lords], 4 August 1840, col. 1233. See also the dossier against Heywood compiled by a Manchester anti-socialist society which described him as 'the principal printer and publisher of the blasphemous, profane and immoral publications coming from this town'. HO 44/35, Maude to Normanby, April 1840.
70. *New Moral World*, 18 July 1840, p. 48.
71. A. B. Reach, *Manchester and the Textile Districts in 1849* (1849), ed. C. Aspin, Helmshore, 1972, pp. 37–40. See also R. E. Turner, *J. S. Buckingham 1786–1855: A Social Biography*, London, 1934, p. 396.
72. See *Anti-Corn Law Circular*, 7 January 1840, p. 7; *New Moral World*, 30 May 1840, p. 1266; *Northern Star*, 25 April 1840, p. 7; 10 October 1840, p. 8; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 4 February 1837, p. 2; 12 May 1838, p. 1; *Manchester Times*, 17 July 1841, p. 2.
73. *Poor Man's Guardian*, 16 February 1833, p. 56; *Northern Star*, 11 June 1842, p. 7; P. A. Pickering, 'Trade', op. cit., pp. 222–6.
74. *Northern Star*, 5 December 1840, p. 5; 8 January 1842, p. 5; 5 March 1842, p. 5; 12 March 1842, p. 2; 2 April 1842, p. 6; F. O'Connor, op. cit., p. 108; P. A. Pickering, 'Trade', op. cit., pp. 222–6.
75. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 5 October 1839, p. 3.
76. *Northern Star*, 29 May 1841, p. 1; 3 December 1842, p. 6. The problem confronted many working-class radicals. See for example: *Poor Man's Guardian*, 30 March 1833, p. 96; *Northern Star*, 23 April 1842, p. 8.
77. Cited in *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 18 May 1839, p. 3. See also R. Cooper, 'An Autobiographical Sketch', *National Reformer*, 21 June 1868, p. 396.
78. *Poor Man's Advocate*, 10 November 1832, p. 1.
79. B. Love, *Handbook of Manchester*, Manchester 1842, p. 102. See also *Manchester Times*, 17 September 1842, p. 2; HO 40/37 Egerton to HO, December 1838; HO 40/54 fol. 889 Shaw to Phillips, 20 December 1840; A. Prentice, *History*, op. cit., vol.1, p. 193; K. Judge, op. cit., p. 382.
80. S. Bamford, op. cit., pp. 35–6. See also D. Ross, *The State of the Country*, Manchester, 1842, p. 6; J. M. Ludlow & Lloyd Jones, *Progress of the Working Class 1832–1867* (1867), Clifton, 1973, p. 5.

81. See W. Lovett, op. cit., p. 314.
82. *Northern Star*, 2 April 1842, pp. 6–7; 4 February 1843, p. 1; 16 September 1848, p. 1; T. Cooper, op. cit., p. 179.
83. *Northern Star*, 19 November 1842, p. 4; 26 November 1842, p. 7; 3 December 1842, pp. 6, 7; 17 December 1842, p. 4; 24 December 1842, pp. 1, 4. For a discussion of the NCA crisis and the general issue of accountability, see E. Yeo, 'Some Practices and Problems of Chartist Democracy', in J. Epstein & D. Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience*, London, 1982, pp. 354–60.
84. *Northern Star*, 3 December 1842, p. 6. McDouall claimed that 'I never put one penny of profit in my pocket arising form anything in which I have been engaged since I joined the Chartist movement – neither from pills, pamphlets or politics', *British Statesman*, 3 December 1842, p. 7. Dorothy Thompson has noted that so-called 'interested agitators' often earned less than in the trade they had forgone, *The Chartists*, op. cit., p. 163.
85. See *Northern Star*, 8 March 1851, p. 1; *People's Paper*, 22 May 1852, p. 5.
86. Webbs cited in Hanham, op. cit., pp. 323–4; R. Hudson 'Prefatory Note', T. P. Newbould, *Pages from a Life of Strife: Being Some Recollections of William Henry Chadwick, the Last of the Manchester Chartists*, London, n.d., pp. ix–x.

9 CLASS WITHOUT WORDS: RANK-AND-FILE COMMUNICATION IN THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT

1. D. Thompson, 'Chartism as a Historical Subject', *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, no. 20, Spring 1970, p. 11.
2. G. Stedman Jones, 'The Language of Chartism', in D. Thompson & J. Epstein (eds), *The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working Class Radicalism and Culture 1830–1860*, London, 1982, pp. 3–58. For a critique of Stedman Jones, see P. A. Pickering, 'Class without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement', *Past and Present*, no. 112, August 1986, pp. 144–62; N. Kirk, 'In defence of Class: a critique of Gareth Stedman Jones', *International Review of Social History*, vol. XXXII, 1987, pp. 2–47; D. Thompson, 'The Languages of Class', *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, vol. 52, no. 1, 1987, pp. 54–7. This chapter is a development of part of my 1986 article.
3. E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Harmondsworth, 1972.
4. G. Stedman-Jones, op. cit., p. 6. Stedman Jones presents a longer version of this article, entitled 'Rethinking Chartism', in his *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 90–178.
5. See K. Judge, 'Early Chartist Organisation and the Convention of 1839', *International Review of Social History*, vol. XX, pt 3, 1975, p. 380; A. Plummer, *Bronterre: A Political Biography of Bronterre O'Brien*, London, 1971, pp. 94–5.
6. *Northern Star*, 19 January 1839, p. 4.

7. *Northern Star*, 25 March 1848, p. 1.
8. Cited in H. Jephson, *The Platform: Its Rise and Progress*, London, 1892, vol. 1, p. 223.
9. As David Jones has put it, 'the public meeting was *the* Chartist experience'. D. Jones, *Chartism and the Chartists*, London, 1975, p. 80. See also E. Royle, *Chartism*, London, 1980, p. 69.
10. Notable exceptions are John Brewer, *Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III*, Cambridge, 1976, ch. 9; James Epstein, 'Understanding the Cap of Liberty: Symbolic Practice and Social Conflict in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, no. 112, August 1989, pp. 75–118. See also Gwyn Williams' Introduction to J. Gorman, *Banners Bright: An Illustrated History of the Banners of the British Trade Union Movement*, London, 1973. Like Gorman's, most studies of banners (in Britain and elsewhere) have tended to pursue antiquarian or aesthetic rather than analytic objectives. See N. Laliberte & S. McIlhany, *Banners and Hangings: Design and Construction*, New York, 1966; A Stephen & A. Reeves, *Badges of Labour; Banners of Pride: Aspects of Working Class Celebration*, Sydney, c.1985.
11. J. Brewer, op. cit., p. 182; S. Bamford, *Passages in the Life of a Radical* (1839–41), London, 1984, pt 1, pp. 207, 211; J. Epstein, op. cit., pp. 97–103.
12. See *Manchester Guardian*, 26 September 1838, p. 2; *Northern Star*, 2 October 1841, pp. 6–7; 19 August 1843, p. 3. According to Peter Percival, 'as late as 1884' one of Bamford's Peterloo banners was carried in a demonstration against the House of Lords by members of the Failsworth Liberal Club. See *Failsworth Folk and Failsworth Memories: Reminiscences associated with Ben Brierley's Native Place*, Manchester, 1901, pp. 5–6.
13. See *Northern Star*, 2 April 1842, p. 6.
14. *Manchester Times*, 22 September 1838, p. 1; *Manchester Guardian*, 26 September 1838, p. 2.
15. *Northern Star*, 10 July 1841, p. 1.
16. *Northern Star*, 17 July 1841, p. 1.
17. See, for examples, *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 10 April 1839, p. 3; 27 April 1839, p. 4; 22 August 1840, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 29 May 1841, p. 2; 4 September 1841, p. 1; [2nd Edition], p. 5; 28 May 1842, p. 2.
18. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 1 June 1839, p. 4. See also 27 April 1839, p. 4; 27 July 1839, pp. 2, 3; J. Gorman, op. cit., p. 45.
19. G. A. Williams, Introduction to J. Gorman, op. cit., p. 16. See also J. Brewer, op. cit., p. 182.
20. *Northern Star*, 17 November 1838, p. 5. See also *Northern Star*, 2 June 1838, p. 6.
21. Rally at Kersal Moor, 24 September 1838; rally at Kersal Moor, 25 May 1839; liberation parade (McDouall, Collins), 14 August 1840; liberation parade (Richardson, Jackson and others), 25 December 1840; liberation parade (O'Connor), 27 September 1841; laying of foundation stone of Hunt Monument, 25 March 1842.
22. *Northern Star*, 2 April 1842, p. 6. See also *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 7 October 1838, p. 3.

23. Banners belonging to Chartist groups outside Manchester and Salford or bearing trade-union names and emblems have not been included in the Appendix for reasons of space.
24. See 'The Giaour: A Fragment of a Turkish Tale' (1813), lines 123–5, Lord Byron, *The Complete Poetical Works*, edited by J. J. McGann, Oxford, 1981, vol. 3, pp. 39–82.
25. The full quotation, 'For a Nation to love liberty, it is sufficient that she knows it; and to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it', was used as an epigram by the *Scottish Chartist Circular*.
26. A. Briggs, 'The Language of Class in Nineteenth Century England' in A. Briggs & J. Saville (eds), *Essays in Labour History*, London, 1967, p. 49.
27. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, 1980, pp. 849, 869; P. Hollis, *The Pauper Press: A Study of Working Class Radicalism of the 1830s*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 227f. For a different view, see C. Calhoun, *The Question of Class Struggle: Social Foundations of Popular Radicalism during the Industrial Revolution*, Oxford, 1982, pp. 117f.
28. *Northern Star*, 1 August 1840, p. 4; 22 August 1840, p. 7. The *Manchester Times* defined those who marched in radical processions as 'the people – the men who fill our mills and workshops...with a sprinkling among them of the small class of shopkeepers', 2 October 1841, p. 3. For other examples see *Northern Star*, 4 July 1840, p. 3; 3 October 1840, p. 1; 9 January 1841, p. 3; 27 March 1841, p. 8; 24 April 1841, p. 6; 27 August 1842, p. 5; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 11 May 1839, p. 3; *Poor Man's Guardian*, 23 July 1831, p. 3.
29. See F. F. Rosenblatt, *The Chartist Movement in its Social and Economic Aspects* (1916), London, 1967, pp. 8–9; E. Halevy, *History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century* (1923), London, 1961, vol. 3, p. 323. See also R. H. Tawney, 'William Lovett' (1920), in *The Radical Tradition*, ed. by R. Hinden, London, 1966, p. 18.
30. See E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 869.
31. See 2 Timothy, 2:6 'The husbandman that laboureth must be the first partaker of the fruits'; 2 Thessalonians, 3:10 'if any would not work, neither should he eat'; 1 Corinthians, 3:8 'and every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour'.
32. E. P. Thompson, op. cit., p. 909. A perspective developed by Frank Parkin in his study of the CND in the 1960s also illuminates this feature of Chartist ideology. He argues that support for the CND was a 'capsule statement' of a wider outlook that included an array of radical and humanitarian attitudes. See *Middle Class Radicalism: The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*, Manchester, 1968, pp. 3–5, 38f.
33. *Northern Star*, 9 July 1842, p. 6.
34. *Northern Star*, 14 October 1843, p. 1. For other examples see *inter alia*: *Northern Star*, 9 August 1838, p. 4; 22 August 1840, p. 7; 16 January 1841, p. 2; 2 April 1842, pp. 6–7; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 28 April 1838, p. 3; 1 June 1839, p. 4; 15 June 1839, p. 4; 20 July 1839, p. 2; 11 January 1840, p. 3; 7 March 1840, p. 4.
35. See P. A. Pickering, 'Class Without Words', op. cit., pp. 146–50. See also E. Royle, 'Newspapers and Periodicals in Historical Research' in L. Brake,

A. Jones, & L. Madden (eds), *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, London, 1990, pp. 48–59.

36. As Derek Fraser has observed, public meetings were 'places where normally inarticulate groups could make their presence felt by heckling [which was] just as valid evidence of opinion as well argued oration'. See 'Birmingham and the Corn Laws', *Birmingham Archaeological Society: Transactions and Proceedings for the Year 1965*, vol. 85, 1965, p. 1.
37. Brit. Lib., Add. Ms., 50, 131 f. 46–7 Richard Cobden to Joseph Sturge, 7 September 1841. I am indebted to Alex Tyrrell for this reference.
38. O'Connor cited in A. Briggs, 'The Local Background of Chartism', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, London, 1959, p. 10; T. Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper* (1872), Leicester, 1971, p. 180.
39. B. Harrison and P. Hollis (eds), *Robert Lowery: Radical and Chartist*, London, 1979, p. 96.
40. B. Harrison and P. Hollis, 'Chartism, Liberalism and the Life of Robert Lowery', *English Historical Review*, vol. LXXXI, 1967, pp. 512–13.
41. Ibid., p. 513; Harney cited in A. R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge: A Portrait of George Julian Harney*, London, 1958, p. 59. Harney and Lowery were both delegates representing Newcastle.
42. *Northern Star*, 29 September 1838, p. 6; *Manchester Guardian*, 26 September 1838, pp. 2–3. See also *Manchester Guardian*, 22 March 1848, p. 6.
43. According to a Government spy, at a confidential meeting of the Manchester Chartist Council where plans for a tea-party were being discussed, David Roberts, a prominent Hulme Chartist, commented: 'the people would rather *dance* than hear Mr O'Connor speak...'. HO 40/43, fol. 851, Neale to Shaw, 23 December 1839.
44. *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 29 September 1838, p. 4. At the prodigious meeting on Peep Green, Yorkshire, in May 1839, the '*Northern Star* admitted that not even ten percent of the vast crowd were able to hear', 25 May 1839, p. 1.
45. R. Walmsley, *Peterloo: The Case Re-opened*, Manchester, 1969, p. 158. At Kennington Common in London in 1848 the Chartists erected several platforms from which speeches were carried on simultaneously. See D. Goodway, *London Chartism 1838–1848*, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 139–41.
46. *Northern Star*, 29 September 1838, p. 6; *Manchester Times*, 2 October 1841, p. 3. See also *Champion and Weekly Herald*, 30 September 1838, pp. 1–3; *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 10 August 1839, p. 3.
47. See *Cap of Liberty*, 7 September 1819, p. 16; W. R. Ward (ed.), *The Early Correspondence of Jabez Bunting 1820–1829*, London, 1972, pp. 24–5. James Epstein points outs that the Phrygian cap had older English and classical meanings, 'Understanding', op. cit., pp. 86f.
48. See *Manchester Observer*, 25 September 1819, p. 726; *Star of Freedom*, 7 August 1852, p. 4; *Cap of Liberty*, 15 September 1819, p. 21; *Black Dwarf*, 15 September 1819, pp. 597–608; L. James, *Print and the People 1819–1851*, London, 1978, pp. 62–8.
49. *White Hat*, 16 October 1819, p. 2.
50. I am indebted to Dr Iain McCalman for the information on Teulon.

51. Letter cited in J. Waddington DD, *Congregational History: Continuation to 1850*, London, 1878, pp. 285–6. I am indebted to Alex Tyrrell for this reference. See also S. Bamford, op. cit., pp. 180–1, 241; R. Cooper, 'An Autobiographical Sketch', *National Reformer*, 14 June 1868, p. 373; E. T. Craig, 'Socialism in England: Historical Reminiscences', *American Socialist*, 3 January 1878, p. 3.
52. A report in the *Northern Star* in 1841 noted 'the fashion of White Hats is again being brought up to distinguish the friends of truth and justice from those of class legislation', 29 May 1841, p. 2. See also *Northern Star*, 22 August 1840, p. 7; 2 April 1842, pp. 6–7; *Manchester Guardian*, 26 September 1838, pp. 2–3; S. J., *Summer Evenings with Old Weavers*, Manchester, 1881, p. 31.
53. P. L. Berger & T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, London, 1973, p. 83. See also R. Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, London, 1974, pp. 65–6, 87.
54. See P. A. Pickering, 'Class', op. cit., pp. 155f. This point has been developed in G. Korff, 'History of Symbols as Social History? Ten Preliminary Notes on the Language and Sign Systems of Social Movements in Germany', *International Review of Social History*, vol. 38, 1993, supplement 1, p. 108.
55. C. Geertz, 'On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding', *American Scientist*, vol. 63, no. 1, January–February 1975, p. 48.
56. S. Bamford, op. cit., p. 21. See also J. T. Slugg, *Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago* (1881), Shannon, 1971, p. 312; *A Young Revolutionary in Nineteenth Century England: Selected Writings of Georg Weerth*, ed. I.& P. Kuczynski, Berlin, 1971, p. 69; E. P. Thompson, *The Making*, op. cit., p. 829.
57. *Northern Star*, 2 October 1841, pp. 6–7; *Manchester Guardian*, 29 September 1841, p. 2; *Manchester Times*, 2 October 1841, p. 3.
58. *Northern Star*, 2 October 1841, p. 6.
59. *Northern Star*, 4 September 1841, p. 6.
60. T. Cooper, op. cit., p. 179.
61. *Manchester Guardian*, 21 September 1841, p. 2. O'Connor's suit of fustian was also reported in the organ of his bitter enemy, Daniel O'Connell. See *Weekly Freeman's Journal*, 28 August 1841, p. 3.
62. W. Lovett, *The Life and Struggles of William Lovett in His Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge and Freedom* (1876), London, 1967, p. 204. See also Bronterre O'Brien's editorial in his *British Statesman*, 6 August 1842, p. 7; R. G. Gammage, op. cit., p. 252. O'Connor's supporters refuted the accusation that they were engaged in 'useless display'. See *Northern Star*, 28 August 1841, p. 1.
63. As John Brewer has put it, symbols are a belief system 'made concrete'. J. Brewer, op. cit., p. 182.
64. See R. G. Gammage, op. cit., pp. 13–14, 246–7, 282; M. Hovell, *The Chartist Movement*, Manchester, 1918, pp. 220–1; J. West, *A History of the Chartist Movement*, London, 1920, pp. 84–6, 150; R. N. Soffer, 'Attitudes and Allegiances in the Unskilled North, 1830–1850', *International Review of Social History*, vol. X, 1965, pp. 430, 432–3, 440–1; J. T. Ward, *Chartism*, London, 1973, pp. 69, 77, 91, 156, 199. See also H. B. Stanton,

Sketches of Reforms and Reformers of Great Britain and Ireland (1849), Miami, 1969, p. 311; D. J. Rowe, 'The London Working Men's Association and the People's Charter', *Past and Present*, no. 36, 1967, pp. 73–85; D. Read, 'Feargus O'Connor', *History Today*, vol. XI, no. 3, March 1961, p. 174; D. Read & E. Glasgow, *Feargus O'Connor: Irishman and Chartist*, London, 1961.

65. For a balanced discussion of O'Connor's leadership see J. Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom*, London, 1982, pp. 90f.; D. Thompson, *The Chartists*, London, 1984, pp. 96–100; E. Royle, *Chartism*, London, 1980, pp. 56–9.
66. Cited in J. Epstein *The Lion*, op. cit., p. 34. See also E. P. Thompson, *The Making*, op. cit., pp. 681–3.
67. Middle- and working-class supporters of Colonel Thompson's candidature for the Parliamentary seat of Manchester wore white slips of paper in their hat bands. Similarly the colour green was not a symbol exclusive to working-class radicalism; middle-class radicals such as Joseph Brotherton, MP for Salford, employed green banners and favours in public displays. See *Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 29 July 1837, p. 4; 14 September 1839, p. 4; *Northern Star*, 7 September 1839, p. 1.
68. See P. Hollis, op. cit., pp. 220–59; P. Hollis (ed.), *Class and Conflict in Nineteenth Century England*, London, 1973, p. xxi.
69. W. Lovett, op. cit., p. 259. See also *National Association Gazette*, 30 April 1842, p. 144.
70. For examples, see *Northern Star*, 6 June 1840, p. 5; 18 July 1840, p. 5; 25 July 1840, p. 7; 22 May 1841, p. 5; 5 June 1841, p. 1; 19 June 1841, p. 1; *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal*, 19 June 1841, pp. 90–1; *Manchester Times*, 6 October 1838, p. 3; 28 September 1839, p. 4; J. Campbell, *An Examination of the Corn and Provision Laws*, Manchester, 1841, p. 71. See also L. Brown, 'Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League', in A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, London, 1959, p. 345.
71. See *Northern Star*, 22 May 1841, p. 4; 3 July 1841, p. 1. See also F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), London, 1979, p. 99; W. Cooke Taylor, *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire* (1842), London, 1968, p. 111.
72. Brit. Lib., Add. Ms., 50, 131, fol. 506. Cobden to Sturge, 4 March 1839. I am indebted to Alex Tyrrell for this reference. See also T. Frost, *Forty Years Recollections: Literary and Political*, London, 1880, pp. 30–1.
73. As far as I am aware, O'Connor first used the phrase 'fustian jackets, blistered hands and unshorn chins' in a public rejoinder to an attack from the London WMA in February 1838. See *Northern Star*, 24 February 1838, p. 4.
74. *Northern Star*, 4 September 1841, p. 6.
75. HO 40/54 fol. 889, Shaw to HO, December 1840; J. Campbell, op. cit., p. 71; *Northern Star*, 2 October 1841, p. 7.
76. *Northern Star*, 10 July 1841, p. 1.
77. *Northern Star*, 4 September 1841, p. 7.
78. Ibid.
79. Stedman Jones, 'Language', op. cit., p. 19.
80. Ibid, pp. 23, 31 & 44.
81. E. P. Thompson, *The Making*, op. cit., p. 902.

82. P. Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the question of class 1848–1914*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 45–7, 408n.
83. I agree with James Epstein that Joyce has some 'theoretical wires crossed' in his shifting definitions of class and populism, and that he offers less of a new insight than a new name for the old. See J. A. Epstein, 'The Populist Turn', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 32, no. 2, April 1993, pp. 177–84.
84. The strident class-consciousness of the Chartist challenge has been powerfully and extensively demonstrated by Theodore Koditschek, *Class formation and urban-industrial society: Bradford 1750–1850*, Cambridge, 1990.

10 KEEPING THE FAITH

1. *Manchester Weekly Times*, 6 February 1869, p. 2; *Manchester Guardian*, 1 February 1869, p. 3; *The Times*, 1 February 1869, p. 10; E. & R. Frow, *Chartism in Manchester 1838–1858*, Manchester, 1980, p. 20.
2. For Armitage and Rawson, see W. E. A. Axon, *The Annals of Manchester*, Manchester, 1886, pp. 360, 373; for Bright and Potter, see M. Stenton, *Who's Who of British Members of Parliament*, London, 1976, vol. 2, pp. 43, 290.
3. A. E. Watkin (ed.), *Absalom Watkin: Extracts from his Journal 1814–1856*, London, 1920, pp. 161–2.
4. See *Northern Star*, 1 February 1851, p. 4; *Manchester Guardian*, 11 March 1848, p. 7; 20 December 1848, p. 5.
5. *Notes to the People*, August 1851, p. 342.
6. For Bazley, see Stenton, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 26. For Jones, see G. D. H. Cole, *Chartist Portraits*, London, 1941, pp. 337–57 and J. Saville, *Ernest Jones: Chartist*, London, 1952. Cole's account of the 1868 election is misleading. There is no mention of the United Liberal Party and Jones's running-mates are referred to as being 'in the field against him' (p. 354). Although Saville notes Jones's latter-day conversion to liberalism he insists that this was not his legacy: 'It is as one of the greatest of the early English socialists, and the one who most nearly approached a Marxist position, that Ernest Jones will be remembered' (p. 82).
7. *Northern Star*, 23 April 1842, p. 6; 23 April 1842 [2nd Edition], p. 2; 21 June 1845, p. 4; 25 July 1846, p. 4.
8. See *Northern Star*, 25 January 1845, p. 7; 14 June 1845, p. 7. See also T. Koditschek, *Class formation and urban-industrial society: Bradford 1750–1850*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 513.
9. *Northern Star*, 6 February 1847, p. 1.
10. *Northern Star*, 20 May 1848, p. 7. Read reports 24 000 unemployed and 84 000 on short time – figures which presumably relate to a larger area. See 'Chartism in Manchester', A. Briggs (ed.), *Chartist Studies*, London, 1959, p. 61.
11. *Northern Star*, 11 March 1848, p. 8; *Manchester Guardian*, 11 March 1848, p. 7; 15 March 1848, p. 5.
12. *Northern Star*, 8 April 1848, p. 6; 22 April 1848, p. 1; *Manchester Guardian*, 12 April 1848, p. 5.

13. *Northern Star*, 20 May 1848, p. 5; 3 June 1848, p. 4, 8; 10 June 1848, p. 4, 5; 19 August 1848, p. 5; *Manchester Guardian*, 10 May 1848, p. 6; J. C. Belcham, '1848: Feargus O'Connor and the Collapse of the Mass Platform', in J. Epstein & D. Thompson (eds), *The Chartist Experience*, London, 1982, pp. 291–9. For a more cautious assessment, see W. J. Lowe, 'The Chartists and the Irish Confederates: Lancashire 1848', *Irish Historical Studies*, XXIV, no. 94, 1984, p. 173; N. Kirk, *The Growth of Working Class Reformism in Mid-Victorian England*, London, 1985, p. 59.
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17. See *Northern Star*, 3 February 1849, p. 4; *Tracts of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association*, Liverpool, 1851; S. Maccoby, *English Radicalism 1832–1852*, London, 1935, pp. 314–15; F. E. Gillespie, *Labour and Politics in England 1850–1867*, New York, 1966, ch. 3; A. Wilson, 'The Suffrage Movement', in P. Hollis (ed.) *Pressure from Without*, London, 1974, pp. 94–8; N. C. Edsall, 'A Failed National Movement: the Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association, 1848–1854', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. XLIV, 1976, pp. 108–31.
18. T. Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper* (1872) Leicester, 1971, p. 224; *Northern Star*, 17 November 1849, 3. For Walmsley see Stenton, op. cit., vol.1, 396; for the Complete Suffrage Conference, see A. Tyrrell, *Joseph Sturge and the Moral Radical Party in Early Victorian Britain*, London, 1987, pp. 129–30.
19. *Northern Star*, 22 April 1848, p. 1; 13 May 1848, pp. 2, 7; *Manchester Guardian*, 12 April 1848, p. 6; 19 April 1848, p. 6; 22 April 1848, p. 7; 3 May 1848, p. 6; 10 May 1848, p. 6.
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p. 2; 14 May 1853, p. 2; G. J. Harney to F. Engels, 16 December 1850, in F. G. & R. M. Black (eds), *The Harney Papers*, Assen, 1969, p. 260.

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25. *People's Paper*, 12 November 1853, p. 1; 11 March 1854, p. 4; 18 March 1854, pp. 1–4; J. Saville, op. cit., pp. 54–5.
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27. *People's Paper*, 27 January 1855, p. 4; 14 July 1855, p. 6; *Manchester Guardian*, 16 July 1855, p. 3; N. Kirk, op. cit., p. 68. Edward Royle argues that the Crimean war 'can be regarded as the watershed between the early-Victorian era of Chartism and the mid-Victorian era of popular Liberalism', *Chartism*, London, 1980, p. 49.
28. *Reasoner*, 17 February 1858, pp. 49–50. For Edward Hooson see *Pioneer*, 16 February 1889, p. 1.
29. *Manchester Guardian*, 2 November 1858, p. 3; 13 November 1858, p. 5; 20 November 1858, p. 4.
30. *Manchester Guardian*, 9 March 1859, p. 1; 2 April 1859, p. 1; 12 April 1859, p. 3; 16 April 1859, p. 5; F. Gillespie, op. cit., pp. 164–5, 183; M. Finn, op. cit., pp. 197–8. The prominent radical lawyer W. P. Roberts was Heywood's election agent. R. Chalinor, *A Radical Lawyer in Victorian Britain: W. P. Roberts and the Struggle for Worker's Rights*, London, 1990, pp. 200–2.
31. R. Harrison, *Before the Socialists*, London, 1965, pp. 139–40; M. Finn, op. cit., pp. 237–8. Christopher Godfrey emphasises the extent to which an alliance with the middle class was a conscious tactical choice; see *Chartist Lives: An Anatomy of a Working Class Movement*, New York, 1987, p. 326.
32. M. Finn, op. cit., pp. 234–9; C. Godfrey, op. cit., pp. 331–7.
33. *Manchester Guardian*, 29 June 1865, p. 1; 1 July 1865, p. 4; 4 July 1865, p. 5; 11 July 1865, p. 5; 13 July 1865, p. 3; 14 July 1865, p. 3; F. Gillespie, op. cit., pp. 248, 253–5. Bright's supporters paid the price for failing to reach agreement with Heywood and the former Chartists, as their candidate ran third behind two moderate liberals, Bazley and his running-mate Edward James. After James's death in 1867, Heywood, Hooson and other former Chartists supported Bright, who was successful at the by-election.
34. *Manchester Guardian*, 14 November 1868, p. 1; 17 November 1868, p. 1.
35. H. J. Hanham, *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone*, Sussex, 1978, pp. 316–20. The Tories also won Salford for the first time since the creation of the seat in 1832. For popular Toryism, see N. Kirk, op. cit., pp. 335–48; P. Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics: The culture of the factory in later Victorian England*, Brighton, 1980, pp. 250–8.
36. Cited in H. J. Hanham, op.cit., p. 320.
37. See *inter alia* N. Kirk, op. cit.; C. Godfrey, op. cit., ch. 9; M. Finn, op. cit.; T. Koditschek, op. cit., ch. 18; T. Tholfsen, *Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England*, London, 1976; H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society 1780–1880*, London, 1969.
38. H. J. Hanham, op. cit., p. 320. In his study Godfrey has identified cases of former Chartists who embraced toryism; see C. Godfrey, op. cit., p. 378.

See also S. Roberts, *Radical Politicians and Poets in Early Victorian Britain*, Lampeter, 1993, pp. 121–2.

39. E. P. Thompson, 'Homage to Tom Maguire', A. Briggs & J. Saville (eds), *Essays in Labour History*, London, 1967, p. 288. The phrase 'embryonic socialism' is G. D. H. Cole's; see *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement*, London, 1932, p. 158. For other statements of this view see *inter alia*: M. Beer, *A History of British Socialism* (1919), vol. 1, London, 1953, pp. 280–1; R. Groves, *But We Shall Rise Again: A Narrative History of Chartism*, London, 1938, p. 255.
40. F. Engels, 'A Working Men's Party' (1881), in K. Marx & F. Engels, *Articles on Britain*, Moscow, 1978, p. 374; P. Anderson, 'Origins of the Present Crisis', *New Left Review*, no. 23, Jan.–Feb. 1964, p. 33. Anderson's phrase was one that provoked E.P.Thompson's well known riposte in 'Peculiarities of the English' (1965), reprinted in *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*, London, 1978, pp. 35–91. See also M. Finn, op. cit., passim.
41. B. Harrison & P. Hollis, 'Chartism, Liberalism and the Life of Robert Lowery', *English Historical Review*, LXXXII, July 1967, pp. 503–35; B. Harrison, 'Henry Vincent', in J. Saville & J. M. Bellamy (eds), *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. 1, London, 1972, pp. 326–34; B. Harrison, 'Teetotal Chartism', *History*, vol. 58, 1973, pp. 193–217. Harrison's analysis ('Teetotal Chartism', p. 213) was in response to the suggestion by Dorothy Thompson that 'in turning towards the Liberal Party after the end of Chartism the former Chartists were to a large extent abandoning the social program which had been such an essential part of the movement'. Thompson went on to argue that this 'submerged social program' resurfaced towards the end of the of the nineteenth century and the Liberal Party did not long survive this 'rival of independent working-class politics'. D. Thompson (ed.), *The Early Chartists*, London, 1971, p. 15. In her most recent contribution Thompson, however, refers to the 'considerable continuities between Chartism and Gladstonian liberalism' which is qualified in a footnote by the suggestion that Chartists who joined forces with the liberals were 'unable to reconcile their Chartist views with those of their new allies' on 'certain subjects'. See 'Chartism and the Historians', *Outsiders*, London, 1993, pp. 25, 43n.
42. In his systematic examination of the later careers of a number of leading Chartists Godfrey has found 'impressive' evidence in support of the 'cooperation between working- and middle-class radicals' in the ranks of liberalism; see Godfrey op. cit., ch. 9, pt. 1. For the attempted incorporation of Jones into the 'pantheon of liberal patriots' see M. Finn, op. cit., pp. 312f.
43. T. P. Newbould, *Pages from a Life of Strife: Being some Recollections of William Henry Chadwick, the Last of the Manchester Chartists*, London, n.d.

CONCLUSION

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2. J. M. Ludlow & Lloyd Jones, *Progress of the Working Class 1832–67* (1867), Clifton, 1973, p. 22.

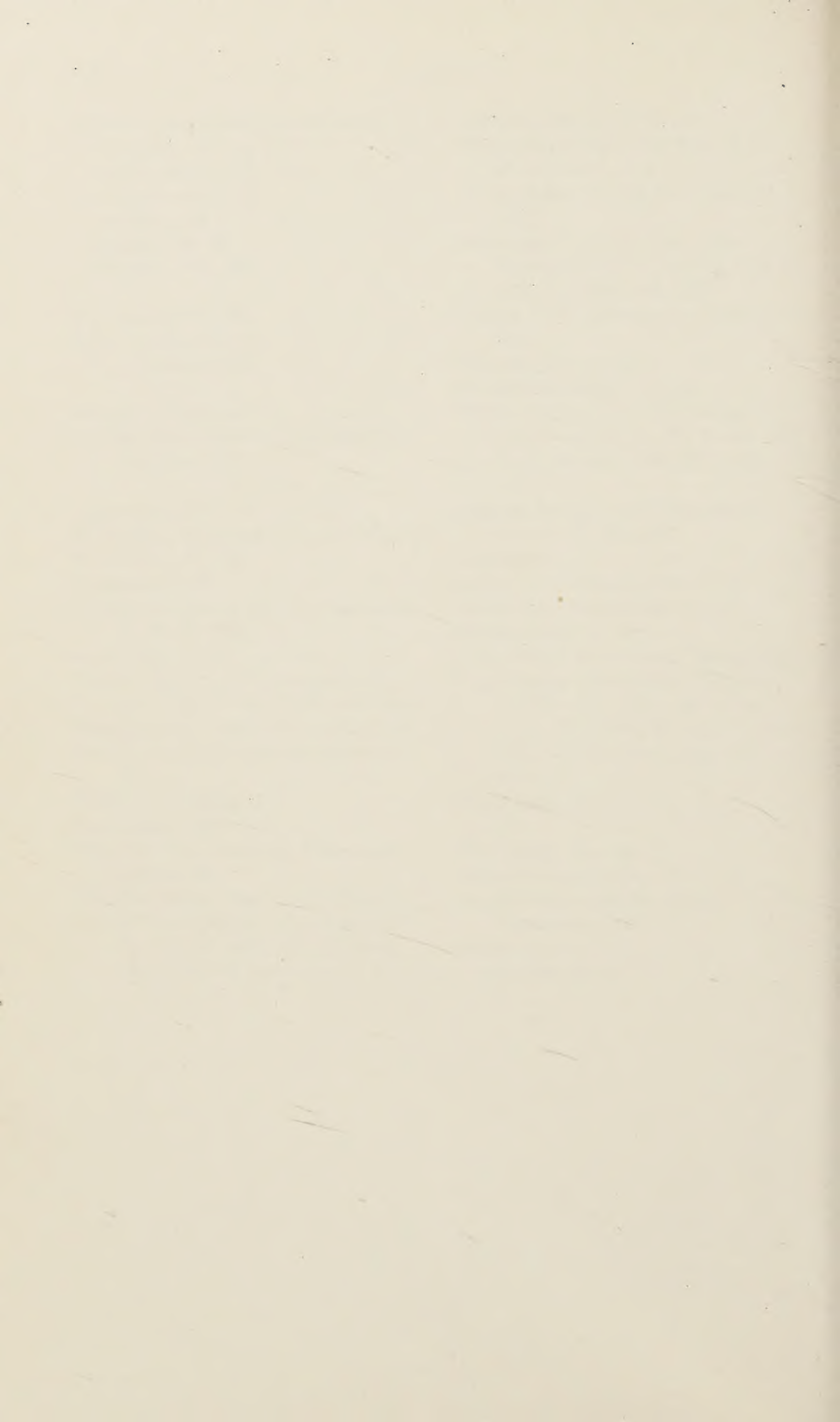
3. E. P. Thompson, 'The Peculiarities of the English' (1965) reprinted in *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*, London, 1978, p. 71.
4. This point is made powerfully by Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban-industrial Society: Bradford 1750–1850*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 494–5.
5. Cited in P. Anderson, *Debates within English Marxism*, London, 1980, pp. 47–8.
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7. J. T. Ward, *Chartism*, London, 1974, p. 199.
8. HO 40/54 fol. 887; *Northern Star*, 11 July 1840, p. 1; 12 September 1840, p. 2; 19 September 1840, p. 1; 2 April 1842, pp. 6–7; 9 July 1842, p. 1. See also E. D. Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music*, London, 1964, ch. 4; A. R. Taylor, *Brass Bands*, London, 1979, pp. 7–31; C. Barker, 'The Chartists, Theatre Reform and Research', *Theatre Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 4, December 1971, pp. 3–10.
9. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Harmondsworth, 1980, p. 738.
10. *Northern Star*, 10 October 1840, p. 6.
11. *Northern Star*, 22 September 1838, p. 6.
12. B. Stott, *Songs for the Millions and Other Poems*, Middleton, 1843, p. 24.

Bibliographical Note

The sources of this book are extensively detailed in the notes. Students of Chartism are fortunate that the efforts of historians have led to the compilation of two book-length bibliographies: J. F. C. Harrison and Dorothy Thompson (eds), *Bibliography of the Chartist Movement 1837–1976*, Sussex, 1978; O. R. Ashton, R. Fyson and S. Roberts (eds), *The Chartist Movement: A New Annotated Bibliography*, London, 1995. At the request of the editors of the latter, I provided a list of any sources used in my PhD thesis that I believed should be included. Students of Manchester history can also take advantage of bibliographic aids: N. J. Frangopulo (ed.), *Rich Inheritance: A Guide to the History of Manchester*, Manchester, 1963; T. J. Wyke, 'Nineteenth Century Manchester: A Preliminary Bibliography', in A. J. Kidd and K. W. Roberts (eds), *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Government*, Manchester, 1985, pp. 218–71. See also P. A. Pickering, '"The Fustian Jackets": Aspects of the Chartist Movement in Manchester and Salford to 1842', La Trobe University PhD, 1992, pp. 456–99.

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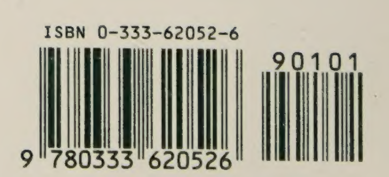
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Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford

'Dr Pickering has handled complex issues with common sense and perception to produce a definitive study of what Chartism meant to the thousands of working people who committed their hopes and energies to the campaign for universal suffrage. His analysis of Chartism in its most important provincial centre is a major contribution to our knowledge and understanding of popular culture and class relations in early industrial Britain.' — **Edward Royle**, *University of York*

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